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THE FISCAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE MAHDIST STATE IN THE SUDAN (1881-1898)

By

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Thesis submitted for the degree
of Master of Philosophy
at the University of Bergen
Spring 1991

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PREFACE

The object of this study is to examine the fiscal administration of the Mahdist State in the Sudan (1881-1898), discussing the role of the Central Treasury, *Bayt al-Māl,* and its central and provincial branches as the core of the financial administration. Furthermore, it focuses on the role of mint, the Mahdist coinage, and its relationship with the foreign currencies which found their way into the Sudan during the Fūnj Sultanate (1504-1821), and the Turkiyya, (1821-1885).

The main sources of this study were photostats of the statements of accounts of the *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm,* in Omdurman, from the last 12 days of *Shawwāl* 1314 to *Rajab* 1315. These photostats are available in the section for Middle Eastern and African studies, University of Bergen, accession nos., Kh.167, 9/2- 175, 9/10. Their originals are in the National Records Office, Khartoum, under No. Mahdiyya 2/62 .

These statements of accounts contain valuable information about the *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm* revenue, expenditure and accounting system. We analyzed them in several tables and diagrams. These summary tables and diagrams have been included in the text to demonstrate the major elements of the revenue and expenditure. For example the statements of *Muḥarram* have been presented as an appendix to show the main principles of the accounting system.

This thesis consists of six chapters, chapter one outlines the political and administrative situation during the sixty years of Turco-Egyptian Rule in the Sudan, attempting to uncover the main reasons behind the outbreak of the Mahdist revolution and the establishment of the new state; chapter traces the establishment and the evolution of the Mahdist Government; chapter three discusses the establishment of and the development of the *Bayt al-māl,* its central sections, and provincial branches; chapter four examines the financial administration of the *Bayt al-Māl* and its fiscal institutions, the specialized and provincial treasuries, the mint, and the slave market; chapter five analyses the government revenue and expenditure with special reference to the statements of accounts of the *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm* in 1314-1315 (10 months), and the last chapter shows the Mahdist coinage, its exchange rates, and its relationship with some foreign currencies.

ACKNOWLEDMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation and sincere thanks to the scholars whose generous sharing of their time and knowledge has made it possible for me to pursue the research which has culminated in this study.

In particular I would like to thank prof. R. S. O'Fahey for drawing my attention to these records, for his generous assistance and encouragements. I am profoundly indebted to my superviser Dr. Anders Bjørkelo who devoted long hours for assisting me in this work from the stage when it was only a mere idea in my mind, for his encouragements and constructive criticism.

My gratitude goes to Prof. M. I. Abū Salīm, the secretary general of the National Records Office, Khartoum, Prof. R. H. Pierce, University of Bergen, Dr. ʿAli Ṣālih Karrār, the National Records Office, Khartoum, Dr. Robert Krammer, Northwestern University, Knut Vikör, Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic studies, Bergen, and my colleague and Norwegian friend Endre Stiansen for their encouragements and valuable assistance, most stimulating discussions and for giving me much of their time.

I would like to reserve special thanks to the secretaries of History Department, the staff of the computing section, and the librarians of the main library for their kind assistance.

I would also like to express my thanks to the Ministry of the Local Government, Khartoum, for releasing me from my duties for two years.

My sincere appreciation goes to my family in the Sudan for their support, and my wife Nawar, whose inspiration and support enabled me to accomplish this work.

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May 1991

Abbreviations

IJAHS	International Journal of African Historical Studies.
IJMES	International Journal of Middle East Studies.
J. I.	*Jumādā I* 1315
J. II.	*Jumādā II* 1315.
M.	*Muḥarram* 1315.
Manshūrāt	Manshūrāt al-Imām al-Mahdī: reprint of the original lithographic version in 4 vols., issued by the National Records Office, Khartoum, 1964.
NRO	National Records Office, Khartoum.
R. I.	*Rabīʿ I* 1315.
R. II.	*Rabīʿ II* 1315.
Ṣ.	*Ṣafar* 1315.
SNR.	Sudan Notes and Records.

A Note on Transliteration

The transliteration system employed in this study for Arabic names will follow that of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, but with the omission of the subscript ligatures and the substitution of "j" for "dj", "q" for "ḳ" and "ū" for "ō".

Most place names have been spelt as written, except for Dongola, Berber, Omdurman, Khartoum, Kordofan and Darfur.

CHAPTER ONE

Historical Outline: The Turkiyya and The Mahdiyya

The nineteenth century was a crucial period in the modern history of the Sudan. The last twenty years of the century witnessed the overthrow of the Turco-Egyptian administration after sixty years of colonial rule (1821-1881) and the establishment of a Mahdist State (1885-1898) under the leadership of the Mahdī, Muḥammad Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbdullāhi (1843-1885).

The Turkiyya (1821-1881)

The Turco-Egyptian period in the Sudan started with the conquest of the region by Muḥammad ᶜAlī Pasha, the Viceroy of Egypt in 1821, and lasted until 1885 when it came to an end at the hands of the Mahdists. This conquest ended the Fūnj (1821) and Darfur (1874) sultanates, destroyed the autonomous kingdoms along the Nile, and extended its territories to Tākā (1840) and Sawākin (1836) in the East, and the equatorial regions (1871) and Baḥr al-Ghazāl (1873) in the south. The Turks[1] established a centralized government over these territories.[2]

The motives behind this conquest were many, but the important ones that led Muḥammad ᶜAlī to invade the Sudan were the hunt for slaves for his new army and the exploitation of its resources for his ambitious programme of industrialization, and his military needs in Egypt. What he found in the Sudan did not come up to his expectations.[3]

1- The term "Turks" was used by the Sudanese for everyone of Ottoman, Egyptian or European origin; rulers, officials, soldiers who were in the Sudan before the Mahdiyya. Later on this term included the rulers, officials, soldiers, of the Condominium Rule in the twentieth century (1898-1956).

2- P. M. Holt, 1958, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan*, 1881-1898, *A Study of its Origins Development and Overthrow*, Oxford, 15; A. Bjørkelo, 1989, *Prelude to the Mahdiyya, Peasants and Traders in the Shendī Region*, 1821-1885, Cambridge, 34.

3- P. J. Vatikiotis, 1980, *The Modern Egypt*, 2nd. ed., London, 55; R. Hill, 1959, *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820-1881*, London, 7-8.

Turkish Administration

After the disturbances that followed the assassination of Ismāʿīl in 1822, the Viceroy of Egypt adopted a centralized policy which aimed to regain the confidence of the Sudanese and to achieve the conquest's goals. The Sudan was administered as a province (Governorate- general) of Egypt. In 1835 its administration was centralized in the hands of a Governor-general as a link between the Viceroy of Egypt, and the provincial governors in the Sudan. In 1843 the post of the governor-general was suspended by the Viceroy of Egypt and the Sudanese provinces were connected directly with Cairo (the central departments or ministries) as an alternative link to Khartoum.[1] The switch backwards and forwards between Cairo and Khartoum was to be characteristic of the Egyptian administration of the Sudan, but it did not substantially slow down the process of centralization and modernization.[2]

This centralized system passed through different stages in its development. In the first stage (1821-1826), the Sudan was divided into four provinces, Dongola, Berber, Sinnār and Kordofan. Dongola and Berber communicated separately with Cairo through their governors who were appointed by the Viceroy of Egypt, and Sinnār and Kordofan were placed under the joint control of the Commander-in-chief of Sinnār. In 1824 the capital was transferred from Wad Madanī to Khartoum on the confluence of the two Niles (Blue and White).[3] At the end of 1825 Kordofan was separated from the administration of Sinnār and placed under an independent administration like Dongola and Berber.

The second stage was a period of consolidation, in which many political and administrative institutions were established. It started with the appointment of ʿAlī Khūrshīd (1826-1838) as Governor of Sinnār (Sinnār *ḥākim*) in 1826. In 1833 his title was changed from the Governor of Sinnār to the *Mudīr* of all the Sudanese provinces with the grade of Bey. From that time all the provincial governors came under his administration. After two

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1_ A. Bjørkelo, (Forthcoming in *SNR.*) "The territorial unification & administrative divisions of Turkish Sudan, 1821-1885".

2_ P. M. Holt, 1973, "Modernization and reaction in the nineteenth century Sudan", *Studies in the History of the Near East.* London, 135-53.

3- R. Hill, ed., 1970, *On the Frontiers of Islam, the Sudan under Turco-Egyptian Rule 1821-1824,* London, 6-7.

years ʿAlī Khūrshīd was upgraded to Governor-general (*ḥikimdār*) of the Sudan with both civil and military authorities and the title of Pasha. The previous titles of the provincial governors were changed from *maʾmūr* (pl. *maʾamīr*) to *mudīr* (pl. *mudarāʾ*), and the administrative terms for provinces from *maʾmūriyyāt* (sing. *maʾmūriyya*) to *mudīriyyāt* (sing. *mudīriyya*).[1]

Political Organization

The framework of the political organization now became clearer. The Sudan was headed by a Governōr-general who was appointed by the Viceroy of Egypt. The latter issued a supreme decree *"faramān"*,[2] explaining his civil and military power in the Sudan.[3] Each province was headed by a *mudīr* who was responsible to the *ḥikimdār* in Khartoum. His responsibility concentrated mainly on financial and military affairs. But after the abolition of the Governor-general's post, each *mudīr* was responsible directly to the Viceroy in Cairo. The province consisted of many districts. Each was headed by a *kāshif* who was assisted in his turn by a number of shaykhs in the sub-districts. In the case of the nomad tribes, the chief of the tribe (*shaykh al-mashāyikh*) was the sole head of the administration and was directly responsible to the provincial governor.[4]

During the sixty years of the Turkish rule, these administrative units were ruled under different administrative models, but the differences among them were in form more than in content.

In 1843 Muḥammad ʿAlī suspended the Governor-general's post and connected the Sudanese provinces with Cairo. But this policy did not succeed; after one year or less the Pasha reverted to the previous one.[5]

1- B. K. Ḥumayda, 1983, *Malāmiḥ min Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān fī ʿAhd al-Khidaywī Ismāʿīl*, Khartoum, 29; A. Bjørkelo, "The territorial unification", 11.

2- Faramān was a term of persian origin, used in the Middle Ages in the state of the Ilhans and subsequently taken over by Turkish chanceries, See J. Reychman & A. Zajaczkowski, 1968, Handbook of Ottoman Turkish Diplomatics, *Near and Middle East Studies*, Columbia University, 136 .

3- B. K. Ḥumayda, 1983, 11.

4- M. Shibayka, 1959, *The Independent Sudan*, New York, 30; A. Bjørkelo, "The territorial unification", 11.

5- al-Shaykh Aḥmad Kātib al-Shūna, 1947, 33.

Local Administration

From the beginning of the conquest, the Turks adopted a colonial policy which aimed at isolating the Sudanese from political power and which paid little attention to their traditional institutions. In the course of time this policy was changed. Thus a number of local leaders were appointed to posts at the local level of the administration. These posts saw a little change in their forms. However, many former *shaykhs* and tribal chiefs were reappointed to their previous posts. Among nomads the Government created a new administrative title which was known as *shaykh al-mashāykh* (*"shaykh of shaykhs"*). The holder of this post was responsible directly to the provincial governor. His authority was the supervision over all *shaykhs* below him. Later on this title was replaced by *nāẓir* such as the *nāẓirs* of the Jaʿaliyyīn, Shukriyya and Kabbābīsh.[1]

The Taxation System

In the long-term, the aims of the Turks went beyond the search for gold and the capture of slaves towards the collecting of taxes and the export of agricultural and natural products.[2] They taxed all the aspects of economic life even the local wine.[3] The collection of these taxes was usually a military operation which was carried out by irregular soldiers, *Bāshibuzūq*. According to Stewart:[4]

1- B. K. Ḥumayda, 1983, 27; A. Bjørkelo, 1989, "the territorial unification", 8-11; ʿAwn al-sharīf Qāsim, 1988, *Halfāyat al-Mulūk, al-Tā'rīkh wa 'l-Bashar*, Omdurman, 97.

2- A. Bjørkelo, 1989, 35.

3- Ḥ. ʿA. Aḥmed, 1980, 105.

4- Stewart, John Donall Hamill (1845-84), British Lieutenant-colonel. In 1882 he was sent to the Sudan to report on the political situation which followed the outbreak of the Mahdist revolution. He spent two years over there to achieve this work. His report on the Sudan in 1883 was the result of this visit. After the siege of Khartoum, he sailed for Egypt. On his way, between Abū Ḥamad and Marawī, he was attacked and killed by the Mahdist followers, the Manāsīr tribesmen. (for further details, see R. Hill, 1967, 245-6).

by the Viceroy of Egypt, at the top, provincial judges and *muftīs*, district judges and *muftīs* and local councils at the bottom.[1]

The Court of Appeal *(majlis al-istʾīnāf)* in Khartoum stood at the pinnacle of the administration of justice. It consisted of a president and eight members. Its jurisdiction concentrated on the supervision of the provincial courts, the appointment of judges, and the hearing of appeals from sentences of the provincial courts. The provincial courts came below the Court of Appeal in the judicial ladder. Their authority was over the district and sub-district courts. Each district had a judge and a *muftī* who were responsible to the provincial judge and *muftī*.[2]

The law by which the courts judged was a Turkish code dating from 1837, for criminal and civil cases, and the *sharīʿa* according to the Ḥanafī school and customary law for matters of personal status and inheritance.[3]

The Army

The army of occupation in the Sudan consisted in the beginning of 10,000 infantry and 9,000 cavalry. In the course of time it was expanded. These military units were stationed at Khartoum and the provincial headquarters. In addition each *kāshif* was required to maintain a force of forty men at his expense. The responsibilities of these forces concentrated mainly on maintaining security and collecting taxes.[4]

Economic Developments

Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha and his successors in order to fulfil their aims, made various attempts to develop traditional agriculture, introducing advanced methods of cultivation, new means of irrigation and cash-crops such as sugar, indigo and above all cotton. They dispatched a band of skilled workers to teach the peasants how to make and maintain their water-wheels

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1- C. Stewart, 1883,12.

2- Ibid., 12.

3- B. K. Ḥumayda, 1983, 46.

4- R. Hill, 1959, 46; P. M. Holt & M. W. Daly, 1989, 140; W. Y. Adms, 1977, *Nubia, Corridor to Africa*, London, 618.

and sent a group of engineers to build basins along the Nile to be able to store flood water.[1]

These reforms reluctantly persuaded the people of the northern provinces and the Gezira who lived far from the river to move near to it to cultivate cash crops and fruit trees instead of their food crops. At first this policy found wide acceptance amongst the farmers.[2] The cash-crops flourished in several rain-land areas of the Sudan such as Ṭūkar in the East. But the heavy taxes which were imposed on these cash crops had negative impacts on in the people of Dongola and Berber. They forced many to desert their villages and migrate to their relatives in the diaspora in Kordofan and Darfur, where they worked as petty traders.[3]

The monopoly system damaged the traditional commerce. Government monopolies were established over all important exports (gum, sheep, cattle, camels, and cash-crops).[4] This policy led the Sudanese traders to reformulate their strategies in order to cope with the new situation. In spite of these restrictions, the conquest did create better security for all traders, opening the door for foreigners, some of whom made fortunes in the Sudan. Many traders among the Jaʿaliyyīn, Danāqla and other tribes learned the new rules of the game quickly and became successful particularly in the diaspora. There the majority became petty traders and slave dealers.[5] On the other hand, this commercial policy of the Pasha was against both local and foreign interests. Thus during the last years of Muḥammad ʿAlī, the traders and the European countries criticized this policy. In the end European pressure forced the Viceroy to abolish this system in 1840 in Egypt and the Sudan.[6]

Furthermore the anti-slavery movement had become strong in Europe. European tourists and explorers visiting the Sudan saw slaves being ill-treated; and they conveyed their observations to their consuls in Egypt and

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1- A. Bjørkelo, 1989, 69-71.

2- N. Shuqayr, 1967, 516.

3- A. Ḥ. Ahmed, 1980, 112.

4- M. W. Daly, 1986, *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1898-134*, Cambridge, 193.

5- A. Bjørkelo, 1989, 105.

6- Z. Y. Hershlag, 1980, *Introduction to the Modern Economic HIstory of the Middle East, 2nd. ed., London, 92.*

their own countries in Europe.[1] The Europeans' reaction appeared very clearly in 1874 when the Khedive Ismāʿīl appointed General Gordon to fight the slave trade and to organize the administration of the Sudan. There this policy met a considerable opposition from the slave dealers. Finally, Gordon destroyed a large part of the slave trade in the Sudan.[2]

This utilitarian outlook was coupled with misgovernment, monopoly, extortion, and oppression. The distance of Cairo from the Sudan had an evil effect on the Turco-Egyptian official character. Many saw their service in the Sudan as a form of compulsory exile which was made endurable only by the hope of making a quick private fortune.[3] Owing to that, corruption and oppression were the general features of the Turco-Egyptian administration in the Sudan. Now the time was ripe for any independent movement against the Turks. In these circumstances the idea of the Expected Mahdī spread widely in Sudanese society.

1- M. El- Mahdī, 1965, *A Short History of the Sudan*, Oxford, 79.

2- R. Hill, 1959, 124.

3- P. M. Holt, 1958, 15; A. Bjørkelo, 1989, 35; W. Y. Adms, 1977, 619.

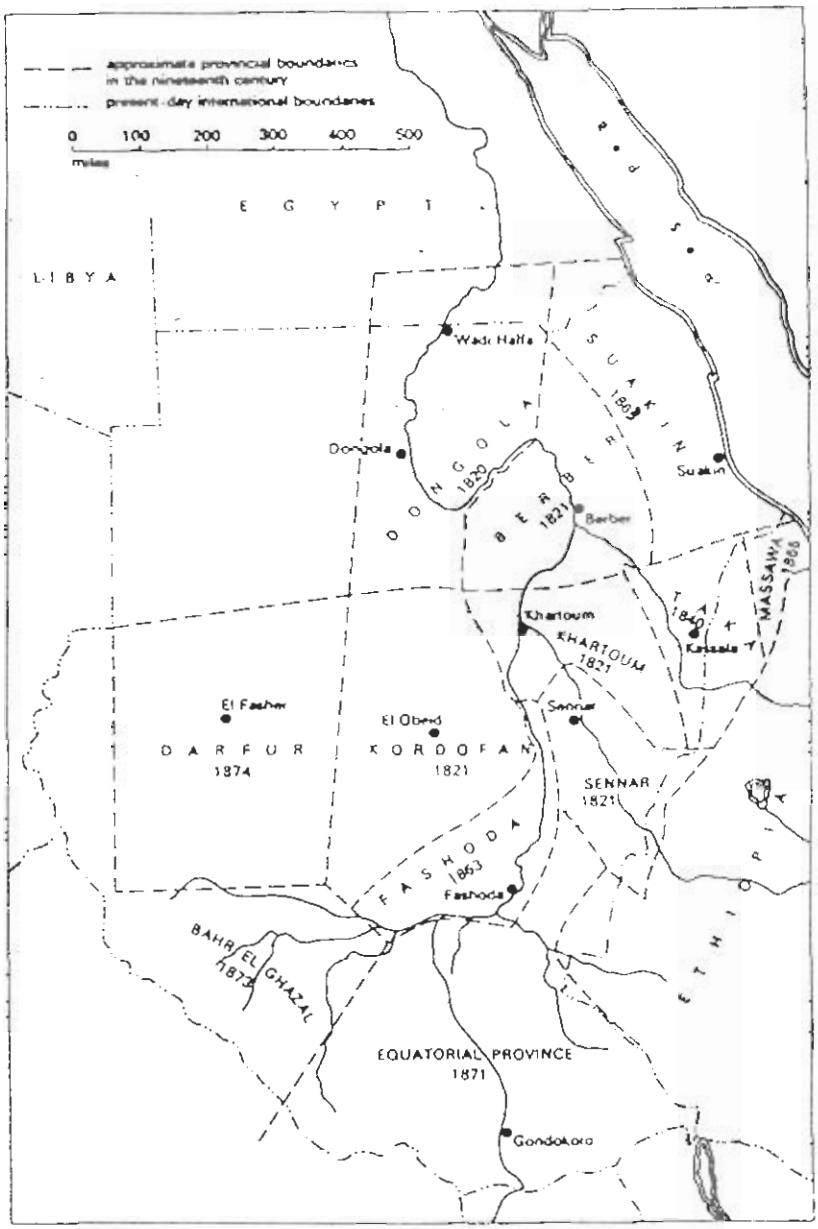

Fig. 1. 1. Provinces of Turco-Egyptian Sudan, with date of acquisition[1]

[1]- W. Y. Adms, 1977, 622.

so that I may follow you ". But al-Zubayr rejected this proposal and reproached him.[1] The memoirs of Yūsuf Mikhā'īl give us a clear picture about the political situation in al-Ubayyiḍ and the spread of the idea of the Expected Mahdī among the people there. He reports that: *"...Most people, both men and women, are asking: Is not there the Mahdī for us? Is it not said that this is the right time for the appearance of the Mahdī?... "*. In his area the boys used to play a game in which two opposing parties fought, one part representing the Turks, the other representing the Mahdī. Ultimately the latter won.[2]

These examples reveal that society in general and Kordofan in particular was ripe to accept the claim of Muhammad Aḥmad Ibn ʿAbdallāhi.

The early life of Muḥammad Aḥmad

Muḥammad Aḥmad was born in 1260/1843 on an island called Labab in Dongola in the northern Sudan. His family claimed to be Ashrāf, descendants of the Prophet.[3] His father was a boat-builder who moved with his family to Kararī, a few miles from Omdurman, where there was plenty of timber for boat-building. There he died and was buried, leaving four sons and a daughter. While Muḥammad Aḥmad's brother followed their family's trade, he himself displayed an aptitude for religious studies.[4]

He began his studies like any Sudanese child by learning the Qur'ān at the Qur'ānic school, *khalwa*, of Kararī. Later on he studied *fiqh*, jurisprudence, at the feet of several shaykhs and was initiated in the Sammāniyya order. The last of these shaykhs was al-Shaykh al-Qurashī wad al-Zayn, the head of the Sammāniyya order at Ṭayyibat al-Shaykh al-Qurashī, near Madanī.[5]

1- R. C. Slatin, 1896, *Fire and Sword in the Sudan*, London, 127.

2-S. M. Nūr, 1962, *A Critical Edition of the Memoirs of Yūsuf Mikhā'īl, with an Introduction, Translation, Notes, Commentary*, Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 68.

3- M. I. Abū Salīm, 1970, *al-Harakat al-Fikryya fī al-Mahdiyya*, Khartoum, 12.

4- P. M. Holt, 1958, 35.

5- Muḥammad, Saʿīd, al-qaddāl, 1986, *Lawḥa lī Thā'ir Sūdānī, al-Imām Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Mahdī, 1881-1885*, Khartoum, 47.

The manifestation of the Mahdiyya

Muḥammad Aḥmad obtained *Shaykh* al-Qurashī's permission to spread the teachings of the Sammāniyya order. Then he chose Abā Island to be his new centre; there he founded a mosque and Qur'ānic school. In a short time disciples from the two tribes of Kināna and Dighaym gathered round him and gradually his prestige was established.[1] During that time he made two tours in Kordofan province, visiting such dignitaries at al-Ubayyiḍ as al-sayyid Muḥammad al-Makkī, the head of the Ismā'īliyya order, and Ilyās Umm Birayr, the chief merchant of Kordofan; and at Taqalī, he met al-Makk Ādam Umm Dabbalū. These two journeys were to be of great importance in the light of subsequent events.

In the beginning of Sha'bān 1298/June 1881 Muḥammad Aḥmad declared his mission openly, sending many letters to religious and tribal leaders to join him on Abā Island.[2] For instance, he sent a letter to al-Shaykh al-Ṭayyib al-Baṣīr on 1 Sha'bān 1298/26 June 1881 revealing that his Mahdiship was a command given by the Prophet and not a claim made up by himself. He wrote in that letter:

> *...and among the good tidings that happened to us after [we left] you, was that a Prophetic vision occurred to us at which our friend al-Faqīh Isā was present. The Prophet came, sat near me and said to the above mentioned brother "your Shaykh is the Mahdī". He replied "I believe in this". Then the Prophet said "he who does not believe in his Mahdiship is a disbeliever in God and His Apostle". And this was repeated three times. Then the friend in Question said to him "O, Lord, O, Apostle of God [certain] men among people mock at us, and we also fear the Turks'. Then the Prophet replied "if your conviction is strong, your needs will be fulfilled [even] if you point [at them] with a small straw. Then the shaykh 'Abdallāhi said 'O Lord -Shaykh al-Ṭayyib- we believe in the message of our Mahdī, but men do*

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[1]- Su'ād al-Fātiḥ al-Badawī, 1961, *The Teachings of Muḥammad Aḥmad, the Sudanese Mahdī*, M. Ph. thesis, University of London, 126; 'Abd al-Qādir al-Kurdufānī, 1982, *Sa'ādat al-Mustahdī bi-Sīrat al-Imām al-Mahdī*, ed., M. I. Abū Salīm, Beirut, 109-11.

[2]- P. M. Holt & M. W. Daly, 1989, 40.

not believe", Shaykh al-Ṭayyīb replied "Your Mahdī has been known as the true Mahdī by the holy men even since he was born; and when he was forty days old all plants and matter, both organic and inorganic knew him. [.....] . And Shaykh al-Ṭayyib said "..... On your arrival at Qadīr let women cover their heads [.....] and should reach the king Ādam Umm Dabbalū in good appearance". [....]. And the Prophet gave me instructions as to what I should do on entering Mecca and told me that I should first make the ordinary people pay allegiance to me, and afterwards the King of Mecca and his nobility. [1]

The Mahdī and the Turco-Egyptian Government

The Governor-general, Muḥammad Raʾūf Pasha (1880-1882)[2] had already been warned by Muḥammad Sharīf Nūr al-Dāʾim (one of the Mahdī's teachers) of the dangerous developments on Abā Island but had disregarded the warning since he knew of the hostility between the two religious leaders.[3] Thus Raʾūf's reaction was limited; he sent a telegraphic message to the judge of Kawwa, instructing him to go with two learned men to Abā and to see for themselves the truth of the rumours. The mission confirmed the story and sent documentary evidence in the form of the Mahdī's letters by mail to Khartoum.[4]

Then the Governor-general dispatched his assistant, Muḥammad Abū Suʿūd to summon the Mahdī to Khartoum. The mission reached Abā Island on 11 Ramaḍān 1298/ 7 August 1881. On the same day negotiations took place and finished without a result. The Mahdī rejected the summons and Abū al-Suʿūd returned empty-handed.[5]

The third step by the Governor-general was to send a military force, consisting of two companies of regular troops to capture the Mahdī and to crush his mission. On 15 Ramaḍān 1298/11 August 1881 the Mahdī was informed by his relatives that a steamer carrying troops had arrived at Abā

1- M. I. Abū Salīm, 1990, *al-Āthār al-kāmila lī al-Imām al-Madhī*, vol. I, Khartoum, 76-81; F. R. Wingate, 1967, 55-6.

2- R. Hill, 1951, "Rulers of Sudan 1820-1885", *SNR*. vol. XXXII, 86.

3- P. M. Holt, 1958, 47.

4- M. Shibayka, 1959, 42.

5- P. M. Holt, 1958, 47.

Island. Then he knew the danger of the situation and divided his followers into four groups and equipped them with swords, spears, and sticks. On 16 Ramaḍān 1298/12 August 1881 the battle took place and ended with the defeat of the Turks.

On the day following the battle, the Mahdī and his followers crossed the White Nile and made their way to Jabal Qadīr, a remote hill in the south of Kordofan. On his way to Qadīr he gained many followers but faced some resistance from the chief of Jabal Jarādah on 30 Dhū al-Qaʿida 1298/24 October 1881.[1]

On 7 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1298/31 October 1881 the Mahdists reached their destination, Jabal Qadīr, where they were welcomed by Makk Ādam Umm Dabblū. There the Mahdī organized his camp, built a mosque and sent letters to all parts of the Sudan urging the people to join him against the Turks: *"I am the Mahdī, the successor of the Messenger of God, may peace and blessing be upon Him. Cease payment of taxes to the infidel Turks, and let any one of you who finds a Turk kill him because the Turks are infidels."*[2]

Now we shall leave the Mahdī's camp at Qadīr to examine the Government's reaction in Khartoum. There the Governor-general was very worried by the developments of the political situation. He dispatched the governor of Kordofan, Muḥammad Saʿīd to pursue the Mahdī at the beginning of his migration. But it was in vain. On the other hand he reported to Cairo in a tone of confidence and minimized the danger of the Mahdī's cause, attributing all the trouble to the *jallāba* (slave traders) and the Mahdī's relatives. As a matter of fact the Governor-general believed the unity of the Sudanese was impossible because they were divided among themselves into different tribes. On the other hand, he did not understand that the charismatic personality of the Mahdī, his mission, and the common aim of these tribes to drive out the Turks could bridge all these differences and lead to unity.[3]

The governor of Fashūda, Rāshid Bey Ayman twice asked to be allowed to march against the Mahdī, but on both occasions permission was refused. In the end acting on his own responsibility, he led an expedition

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1- ʿAwaḍ ʿAbd al-Hādī, 1973, *Taʾrīkh Kurdufān al-Siyāsī fī al-Mahdiyy, 1881-1899*, Khartoum, 28; J. O. Voll, 1987, "The Mahdī's concept and use of Hijrah", vol. 26, no. 1, *Islamic Research Institute*, International Islamic University, Islamabad, 31-42.

2- S. M. Nūr, 1962, 68.

3- M. Shibayka, 1959, 47.

against the Mahdī in his new camp at Qadīr. There on 16 Muḥarram 1298/9 September 1881 Rāshid's force was attacked and overwhelmed.[1] Owing to this victory the rumour travelled far and wide in the Sudan that the spiritual power of the Mahdī was so great that he could turn bullets into water, and in the fight with Rāshid in particular the Mahdī suffered practically no casualties because the enemy fired few shots owing to the completeness of the surprise[2]. Then the roads leading to Qadīr began to be thronged by new adherents to the cause.

During this time, Khartoum was very busy with the political situation in Cairo. There in 1882 the ʿUrābists took power and established their government. On the other hand, the British were manoeuvring to take control of the political situation in Egypt. In Khartoum the deputy of the Governor-general, Giegler Pasha, states that:

> *In Government circles the matter [the annihilation of Rāshid's expedition] was by no means forgotten, yet there were other daily worries and troubles to be taken in consideration. Events in Egypt which led to the military revolt under ʿUrabī Pasha were of concern to us. On the whole one can say that life continued as usual; we simply awaited what was to happen. The event in Egypt gave us food for thought, for changes in Egypt always had their repercussions in the Sudan.*[3]

The repercussions of the ʿUrābist revolution in the Sudan were the abolition of the Governor-general's post and the appointment of ʿAbd al-Qādir Ḥilmī Pasha as minister for the Sudan. Meanwhile, between the arrival of ʿAbd al-Qādir and the departure of the former Governor-general, the acting Governor-general, Giegler Pasha dispatched an expedition under the leadership of Yūsuf al-Shallālī Pasha against the Mahdī. This expedition coincided with the outbreak of the revolution in the Gezira area, namely in Sinnār and Abū Ḥarāz. There the Government made considerable efforts to restore law and order. Al-Shallālī's force reached Qadīr in a bad condition,

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1- R. Hill, ed., 1977, 175; C. Gordon, 1969, *The Journal of Gordon*, ed., A. E. Hake, New York, 460; P M. Holt, 1958, 48.

2- R. C. Slatin, 1896, 140; F. R. Wingate, 1892, *Ten Years' Captivity in the Mahdī's Camp*, London, 9.

3. R. Hill, ed., 1973, 177.

exhausted and morally depressed. On 12 Rajab 1299/30 May 1882 it was attacked and annihilated by the Mahdist forces.[1]

Now the Mahdī organized his new camp at Qadīr, nominating many *khalīfas*[2] (later *amīr* and *ʿāmil*) to help him running the administration of the conquered territories, dividing the army into three divisions, founding a treasury for collecting and distributing booty among the warriors, appointing a judge to see disputes among the *Anṣār*, the Mahdī's followers, and erecting a mosque for prayers.[3]

However, the defence policy was changed. The Mahdī appointed Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Qādir as an *ʿāmil*, administrative agent, for Qadīr to maintain security and peace. On 12 Ramaḍān 1899/28 August 1882 he moved towards the capital of Kordofan province, al-Ubayyiḍ, and camped at *Daym al-Janzārah*, a few miles from the town. Al-Ubayyiḍ was put under an extensive siege which forced it to surrender on 25 *Ṣafar* 1300/5 January 1883.

After the fall of al-Ubayyiḍ, the Mahdī reoganized his community. Imitating the order of succession of the "Orthodox Caliphs" he appointed three *khalīfas*, ʿAbdallāhi as *kalīfat* al-Siddīq, ʿAlī Muḥmmad Ḥilū as *khalīfat* al-Fārūq, and Muḥammad Shārīf as *khalīfat* al-Karrār and gave them military and administrative powers. Later on he gave ʿAbdallāhi considerable power over his colleagues, and called him "our representative" and the commander of the Mahdist army and the head of the *khalīfas*.[4]

During this period Egypt saw many changes; the overthrow of the ʿUrābist Government and the establishment of the British occupation in September 1882. The response of the new Government in Cairo to the development of the political situation in the Sudan was to appoint a new Governor-general and to dispatch a military force to restore order. The new governor general, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Pasha arrived Khartoum in 1883 and followed the expedition which was sent by the Egyptian government under the command of Hicks[5] Pasha against the Mahdī at al-Ubayyiḍ. On 4 *Muḥarram*

1- R. Hill, ed., 1973, 184-7; M. Shibayka, 1965, *al-Sūdān ʿAbr al-Qurūn*, Beirut, 151.

2- Term of khalīfas were used here for the district governors.

3- M. I. Abū Salīm, 1970, 22-3; N. Shuqayr, 1967, 670.

4- P. M. Holt & M. W. Daly, 1989, 93-4.

5- Hicks Pasha, William (1830-83), British soldier; he was appointed a *farīq* of the Egyptian army in 1883 to lead an expedition against the Mahdist rebels who were camping in Kordofan at that time.

1301/5 November 1883 Hicks's force was annihilated at Shaykān. Owing to this victory Darfur province was isolated from Khartoum, and the Government lost its last regular army. A few months later Darfur surrendered to the Mahdī, and the governor of Baḥr al-Ghazāl capitulated in April 1884.[1]

The Government's reaction in Cairo was affected by the British policy towards Sudan. The revolt in the Sudan was regarded as something outside the sphere of British responsibilities. Thus in January 1884 the British Government insisted that the Egyptians should evacuate their troops, officials and civilians. Consequently, General Gordon was sent to the Sudan to accomplish this policy. Gordon reached Berber in 1884. There he declared the policy of evacuation openly[2] and appointed the Mahdī *Ṣulṭān* of Kordofan, but the latter rejected his offer. When he arrived Khartoum, he changed his mind and tried to restore order in the Sudan[3]. The declaration of the evacuation policy at that time made the people realise the weakness of the Government and encouraged them to join the Mahdī in al-Ubayyiḍ. For instance, immediately after this declaration, the teacher of the Mahdī in Berber, Muḥammad al-Khayr ʿAbd Allāh Khūjalī migrated to the Mahdī in al-Ubayyiḍ. Then the latter sent him back to declare the *jihād* (holy war) against the Turks in Berber.

The Mahdī then appointed many *ʿāmils* for his conquered territories in the western Sudan, Darfur and Kordofan, Muḥammad Khālid Zuqal for Darfur, Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Qādir for Kordofan. ʿUthmān Diqna was dispatched to the East to declare the *jihād*, and many forces were sent towards Khartoum.

At the end of 1884 Khartoum was isolated from all parts of the Sudan and Cairo because Berber had fallen into the Mahdist's hands, the revolution broke out under the leadership of ʿUthmān Diqna in the East, and the Mahdī and his followers came from the western Sudan and established their new camp in Omdurman on the west bank of the Nile. Now Khartoum was surrounded by the Mahdist forces. And finally, on 26 January 1885 the capital of the Turco-Egyptian administration was occupied by the Mahdists.

1- Mūsa al-Mubārak, (n.d.) 6.

2- Guiseppe, Guzzi, *Fifteen Years Prisoner of the False Prophet*, trans. H. Sharma, 1968, University of Khartoum, 55.

3- [Maḥmūd al-Qabbānī] 1896, *al-Sūdān al-Maṣrī al-Inqlīzī*, Alexandria, 272; M. I. Abū Salīm, 1990, vol. I, 237-41.

Thus the Mahdists completed their control over a great part of the Egyptian Sudan, although Sawākin, Kassala, Sinnār and southern regions were still held by the Turks. Later on, Sinnār and Kassala surrendered in 1885; and after along series of wars the equatorial regions capitulated in 1889. Sawākin was reinforced by British troops and never fell, although it was frequently threatened by the *Anṣār* under ʿUthmān Diqna.[1]

After the Fall of Khartoum, the Mahdī's headquarters remained in Omdurman. There he erected his mosque and government buildings. Suddenly, on 8 Ramadān 1302/ 22 June 1885 he died, leaving to his successor a rudimentary administrative system which reflected both the religious ideology of his movement and the wars which had brought it to power.[2]

The Mahdī did not nominate any one of his followers to succeed him. But his old friend ʿAbdallāhi had the best claim to succeed to the Mahdī's sovereignty because of his nomination as *Khalīfat* al-Siddīq that is, the historical Caliph Abū Bakr (ruled 632-634), who had succeeded the Prophet. Immediately after the Mahdī's death on the evening of 8 Ramadān the *Anṣar* elected him as successor to the Mahdī[3]. He ruled till the end of the Mahdiyya 1898 and fell at the battle of Umm Dibaykrāt in 1899 against the Anglo-Egyptians.

At the end of this chapter we can say that the idea of the expected Mahdī was double edged. It led the leader of the revolution to declare that all who believed in his claim were Muslims and all others infidels, *kuffār*, against whom *jihād* could be waged. In accordance with this idea his successor the Khalīfa 'Abdallāhi adopted an aggressive policy against his neighbours, notably Egypt and Ethiopia. The outcome of the Khalīfa's foreign policy was catastrophic; his armies were defeated on two fronts, Egypt and Ethiopia. These defeats encouraged the chief enemy of the Mahdiyya, the Anglo-Egyptians, to put the reconquest of the Sudan on its agenda.

But the failure of the Khalīfa's international policy does not mean that his internal policy was similarly unsuccessful. The thirteen years of the Khalīfa's rule were not just a period of disappointed hopes from the revolutionary stage; they were also a period of organization and skilful

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1- N. Shuqayr, 1967, 1103; P. M. Holt & M. W. Daly, 1989, 93.

2- M. I. Abū Salīm, 1969, 81-6; C. Slatin, 1896, 370, P. M. Holt & M. W. Daly, 1989, 95.

3- M. I. Abū Salīm, 1969, 84-6; P. M. Holt, & M. W. Daly, 1989, 119.

balance of forces. They are characterized by the passing of the Mahdist theocracy and the creation of a personal rule exercised through a bureaucracy, largely composed of Sudanese civil servants inherited from the Turco-Egyptian regime[1]. Thus the Khalīfa was able to maintain the Mahdist state until 1898 when it was crushed by the Anglo-Egyptian forces.

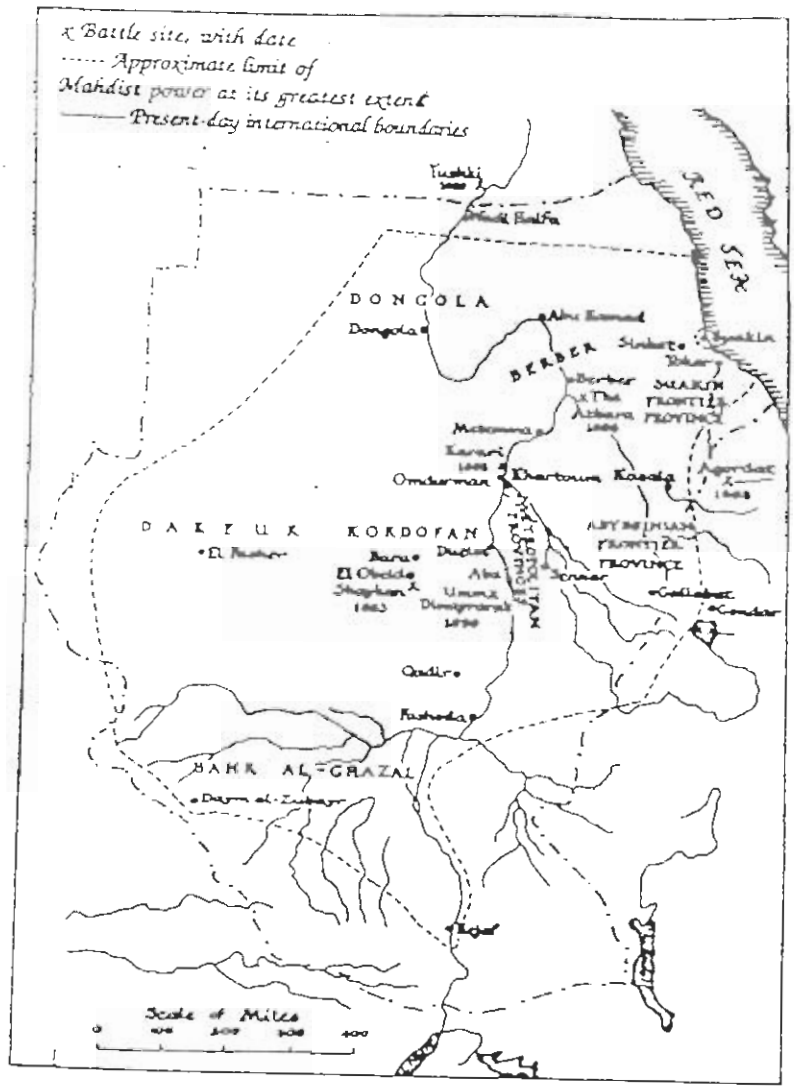

Fig. 1. 2. The Mahdist State (1881-1898)

1- P. M. Holt, & M. W. Daly, 1958, 133.

CHAPTER TWO

The Mahdist Government

The purpose of the present chapter is to throw light on the Mahdist Government from different angles, discussing its establishment under the Mahdī (1881-1885), its development under his successor the Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi (1885-1898), and the political and administrative institutions through which the Mahdist rulers carried out their policies. This discussion will form the background for the following chapters.

The Nucleus of the Mahdist Government

Soon after the outbreak of the revolution, the Mahdī emigrated to Jabal Qadīr. There he laid the framework of his government, nominating many *khalīfas* (later *amīr* and *ʿāmil*) to help him in running of the administration of the conquered territories, dividing the army into three divisions, founding a treasury for the storage and distribution of booty among the warriors, and appointing a judge to see to disputes among his followers (the *Anṣār).* After the fall of al-Ubayyiḍ he nominated his three *khalīfas* (for further details see below), and in 1885 he established an administrative council which was known as *majlis al-umanāʾ,* (the council of the commissioners). In all these steps the Mahdī consciously tried to follow the path of the Prophet and the model of the early Islamic state. Thus he called himself *Khalīfat Rasūl Allāh* (the successor of the Prophet of God), and his three *khalīfas* after the successors of the Prophet of God. Now the framework of the Mahdist government became clear. Its institutions may be considered under three heads: the ruling institution, the fiscal and the judicial systems.[1]

The Ruling Institution

The ruling institution consisted of the Mahdī, the three *khalīfas,* the great commanders of the army, the council of the commissioners and provincial governors. In a very real sense, the Mahdī was the nucleus of authority and the active force of the Mahdiyya. He acted as an Islamic reformer and revolutionary leader, abolishing those laws of the previous regime which

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1- P. M. Holt, 1958, 100.

contradicted the Qur'ān, Sunna and the Mahdist teachings, establishing new administrative institutions to run administrative affairs, for example *Bayt al-māl,* and appointing his subordinates to help him in running of the administrative work. He delegated a good deal of routine work to his subordinates and devoted himself to the general policy of the state. During the revolutionary stage, he issued many proclamations which dealt with two major problems; the status of women and the ownership of land.[1] After the fall of Khartoum, he concentrated his efforts on administrative matters. Thus he set up many administrative and political institutions to carry out the routine work at the centre and in the provinces. In addition he tried to organized the circulation of currencies, issuing a proclamation fixing the exchange rate and minting his own coinage (see below, Chapter Six).

The Three *Khalīfas*

When the Mahdī was camping in Kordofan (1881-1884), he appointed his three *khalīfas* to help him in running the administration.[2] They corresponded to the four famous companions and successors of the Prophet; ʿAbdallāhi ibn Muḥammad, the first follower of the Mahdī was designated *khalīfat al-Ṣiddīq* (the successor of the caliph Abū Bakr), ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad Ḥilū, a man of great piety and a disciple of long standing, was entitled *khalīfat al-Fārrūq* (the successor of the caliph ʿUmar), the title of *khalīfat al-Karrār* (the successor of the caliph ʿAlī) was offered to Muḥammad Sharīf ibn Ḥāmid and the position of the caliph ʿUthmān was given to but refused by the head of the Sanūsiyya order, Muḥammad al-Mahdī ibn Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Sanūsī of

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1- M. I. Abū Salīm, *al-Arḍ fī al-Mahdiyya*, Khartoum, 1970; S. El-Fātiḥ, 1961, 153.

2- The title of Khalīfa which the Mahdī conferred upon his three principal assistants is very rich in meaning and associations. The basic meaning of the word is successor. In this sense it was used by Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq after the Prophet's death in the form of Khalīfat Rasūl Allāh (successor of the Apostle of God). Thus the word became title of the head of the Muslim community and with this significance has passed into the English as caliph. In the Mahdist movement the Mahdī followed the trace of the first Islamic State entitling his assistants according to the caliphs of that State (for further details, see P. M. Holt, 1958, 102-3).

Jaghbūb in Libya and therefore remained vacant.[1] These appointments were made in accordance with instructions conveyed in a Prophetic vision.[2]

The powers and duties of the *khalīfas* were not clear, except that each was nominal commander of a division of the army with his own flag, war drums, subordinate *umarā'* and followers; the men of the western Sudan were the backbone of the Mahdist army under *al-rāya al-zarqā'* (the black flag) of ʿAbdallāhi; those of the White Nile followed *al-rāya al-khaḍrā'* (the green flag) of ʿAlī and the Ashrāf and some *jallāba* (petty traders of Kordofan and Darfur) followed *al-rāya al-ḥamrā'* (the Red flag) of Muḥammad Sharīf.

Although the three *khalīfas* were theoretically equal in status, the Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi was over his colleagues because the Mahdī gave him such powers as that of *amīr juyūsh* al-Mahdiyya *wa al-khulafā'* (the commander of the armies of the Mahdiyya and the *khalīfas*), and the head of the tax collectors. His position was like that a vizier to the Mahdī. The latter issued a proclamation on 17 *Rabīʿ I* 1300/26 January 1883 emphasizing that:

> ..... *Know that the Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi, khalīfat al-Ṣiddīq the commander of the army of the Mahdiyya was designated in the Prophetic vision [.....] since you know my beloved that the Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi is of me and I am of him as ye are comfortable unto me, and submit to him outwardly and inwardly as ye submit unto me. Believe in his words and do not be suspicious of his deeds, for all that he does is by the command of the Prophet or by permission from us, not by his mere independent judgement [.....] [he] is our representative in all matters of faith.....*[3].

1- F. R. Wingate, 1891, 16; A. B. Theobald, 1967, *the Mahdīya; A History of the Sudan, 1881-1898*, London, 45; P. M. Holt, 1958; 95.

2- *Manshūrāt, Manshūrāt al-Imām al-Mahdī*: reprint of the original lithographic version in 4 vols., issued by the National Records Office, Khartoum, 1964, vol. III, 32; P. M. Holt, 1958, 103-6; M. El-Mahdi, 1965, 109-10; Ahmed Ibrahim Diyab, 1981, "the relations between the Mahdiyya and Sanūsiyya", a paper presented to *the Conference of the Mahdiyya*, Khartoum; M- A. Kāb al-Rafīq, 1981, "Tā'rīkh al-ijtimā'ī fī al-Sūdān fī ʿahd al-Mahdiyya" , a paper presented to *the Conference of the Mahdiyya*, Khartoum.

3- *Manshūrāt*, vol. I, 31-32.

This shows that the post of the Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi was becoming close to that of the traditional Muslim vizier, because the Mahdī called him our representative in all matters of faith, and the latter executed his job according to this term.[1]

Majlis al-umanā' (the Council of the Commissioners)

After the fall of Khartoum, the Mahdī set up an administrative council of six commissioners; Aḥmad ʿUmar Baqādī, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm, Muḥammad Sulaymān, al-Majdhūb Abū Bakr Yūsuf, Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Fallātī, to deal with all administrative matters. It was presided over by the Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi who was responsible for giving a final approval to its decisions. Then the decisions would be ready to receive the Mahdī's seal.[2] This council practised its job on the one hand as a consultative body for the Mahdī, and, on the other, as an executive one carrying out its decisions.
This council was different from that which was established by the Mahdī to deal with the problems of Khartoum town, under the leadership of his uncle, Aḥmad Sharfī.

The Provincial Administration

At Jabal Qadīr, the Mahdī appointed many *khalīfas* for the conquered territories. After he moved towards al-Ubayyiḍ, he nominated his uncle Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Qādir as an *ʿamil* for Qadīr. In 1884 the provincial administration of the western Sudan (Kordofan and Darfur) became clear. There Muḥammad Khālid Zugal, the former governor of Dāra during the Turkiyya was appointed an *ʿāmil,* for Darfur, and Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Qādīr for Kordofan.[3] ʿUthmān Diqna was despatched for the eastern Sudan and Muḥammad al-Khayr ʿAbd Allāh Khūjalī for the northern Sudan (Berber). Now each administrative title of the previous units was changed from *mudiriyya* to *ʿamāla* (pl. *ʿamālāt*). However, the main features of these units which were established by the former regime, namely provinces, districts

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1- P. M. Holt, 1958, 108.

2- *Manshūrāt,* vol. II, 276; M. I. Abū Salīm, 1969, *Manshūrāt al-Mahdiyya,* Khartoum, 217, 223; N. Shuqayr, 1967, 933; M. Shibayka, 1965, 341.

3- *Manshūrāt,* vol. II, 264-6; L. Kapteijns, 1982, *Mahdist Faith and Sudanic Tradition; History of Dār Massalit,* Ph. D. thesis, Amsterdam, 89-90.

and sub-districts remained the cornerstones of the Mahdist administration as well. Each was headed by an *ʿāmil* (like a *mudīr* in the Turkish administration), and a junior *ʿāmil* at the bottom of the administrative hierarchy. All these posts were in a chain of command relationship under the supervision of the Mahdī.

The Fiscal System

The Mahdī did not establish a civil administration in the modern meaning of the term. But he set up a treasury which was known as *Bayt māl al-muslimīn* (the Muslims' Treasury) at Jabal Qadīr to solve the administrative problems of the storage and distribution of booty among warriors. The faithful friend of the Mahdī, Aḥmād Sulaymān, was appointed as *amīn*, (commissioner) of this fiscal institution.[1] At this stage it was both the central treasury and store of the Mahdist government; its revenues included proceeds of taxation which were often paid in kind, booty, and confiscated property. During this period the *Bayt al-māl* had no system for regulating revenue and expenditure, but Aḥmad Sulaymān carried out his job according to the Mahdī's orders.[2]

After the fall of Khartoum the *Bayt al-māl* was transferred to the new capital of the Mahdist State, Omdurman. There its previous functions were extended to include minting of coinage (see below). Besides this central treasury there were provincial ones in al-Fāshir, al-Ubayyiḍ, Berber, Dongola, Ṭūkar and al-Qaḍārif etc.

The Judicial System

The post of chief judge was placed in the hands of the *Qāḍī al-Islām* (the judge of Islam), Aḥmad Jubāra, at Jabal Qadīr. After his death in the Friday battle of al-Ubayyiḍ in 1883, he was succeeded by *wad* Jallāb and then

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1- Aḥmad Sulaymān (d. 1892); Mahdist amīr, by birth a Maḥasi of Rufāʿa branch and one of earliest followers of Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Mahdī, served both the Mahdī and the Khalīfa Abdallāhi as treasurer. For his supporting the Ashrāf against the Khalīfa Adballāhi, he had been arrested and sent to the amīr al-Zākī Ṭamal at Fashoda where he was killed (see R. Hill, 1968, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 2nd of *A Biographical Dictionary of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, London, 39)

2- R. Slatin, 1896, 231.

Aḥmad ʿAlī.[1] After the fall of Khartoum, The latter became the head of the main court of Omdurman, *maḥkamat al-Islām* (the court of Islam). There he had several assistants *"nuwwāb al-sharʿi "*. Naturally, the Mahdī and his *khalīfas* also had a right to hear cases in accordance with the Qurʾān, Sunna and the Mahdī's proclamations.[2] Besides the main court of Omdurman the Mahdī set up specialized courts such as the market court, the *Bayt al-māl* court, and other provincial courts.

Five months after the fall of Khartoum, the Mahdī died suddenly, leaving for his successor the dual task of consolidating the gains of the revolution in the Sudan by building a state on the primitive Islamic model, and waging the universal *jihād* beyond the borders of the Sudan.[3] In the following paragraphs we will see how the Mahdī's successor, the Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi dealt with these difficult questions.

1- Aḥmad ʿAlī (d. 1892), Islamic judge and Mahdist *amīr al-umarāʾ* he was serving as a district judge at Shakkā in Darfur in 1882 when hearing of the rising fame of Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Mahdī, he deserted his post to join the Mahdist cause, having taken a leader part in the storming of al-Ubayyiḍ the Mahdist placed him at the head of the legal jurisdiction of the movement with the title of *Qādī al-Islām*. He served the Mahdī and his successor, the Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi for ten years (see R. Hill, 1968, 29).

2- R. Slatin, 1896, 232.

3- P. M. Holt, 1958, 245.

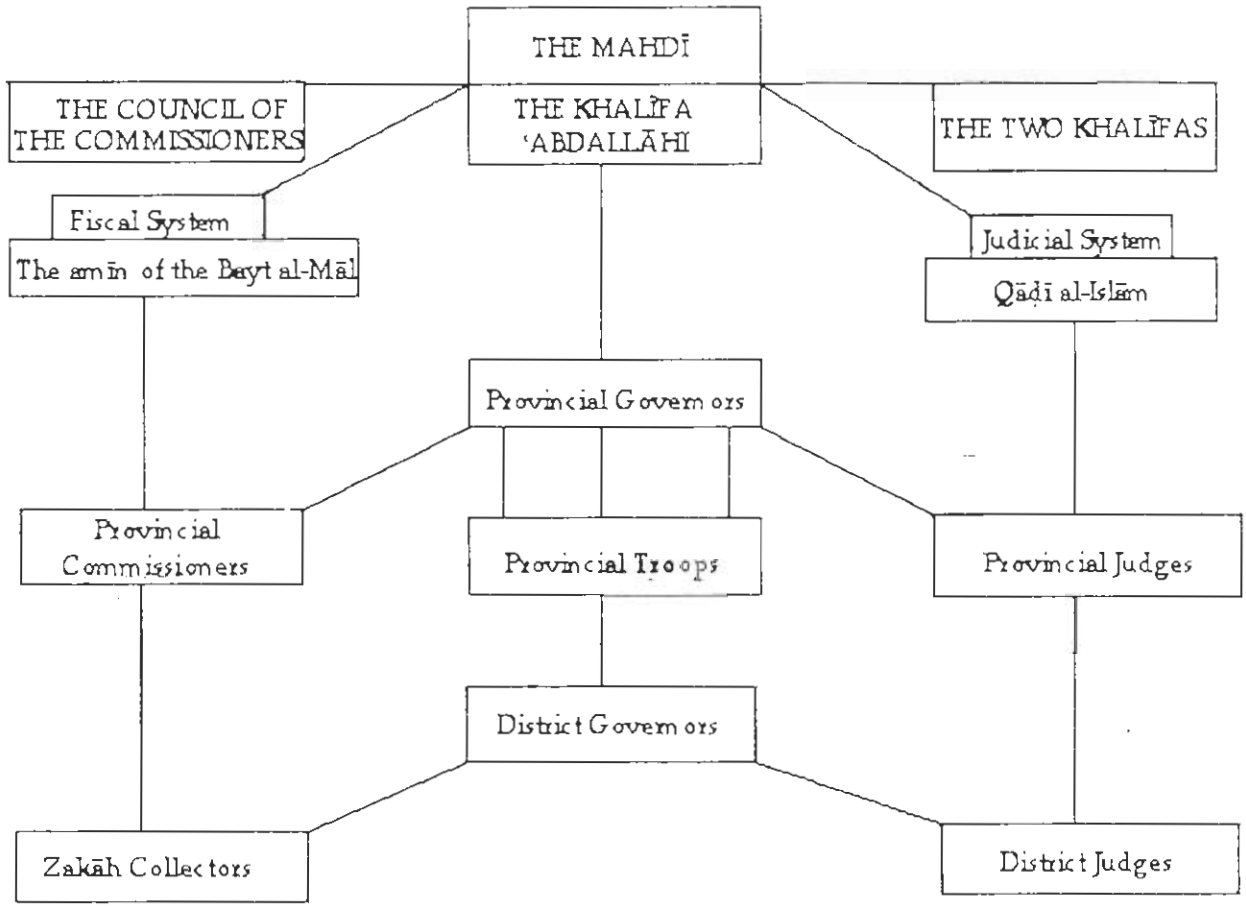

Fig. 2.1. The administrative structure of the Mahdī's Government

The Khalīfa's Government

The accession of the Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi

The Mahdī's unexpected death, long before any effective machinery of state had been organized, not surprisingly, caused turmoil among his followers. Thus after his burial, the Ashrāf, the Mahdī's relatives came together to confer the *khilāfa* (succession) on Muḥammad Sharīf ibn Ḥāmid the *khalīfat al-Karrār,* but the rest of the gathering opposed them, and said:

> *.....The khilāfa is for the khalīfat al-Ṣiddīq, ʿAbdallāhi ibn al-Sayid Muḥammad, that is according to the recognized order of the khilāfa according to what the Mahdī had said in his proclamation [which was issued on 26 January 1883] ..... Indeed*

the Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi is my khalīfa; he is of me and I am of him; follow him in every thing....[1].

On this basis the Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi, the *Khalīfat al-Ṣiddīq,* succeeded the Mahdī.[2] Then the public oath of allegiance to him took place in the evening at the mosque. The Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi thus became the legitimate ruler of the Mahdist State.

The Ruling Institution

The Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi took over the leadership of the Mahdist Government, diminishing the power of the *awlād al-balad,* the Northerners and their supporters, in high executive offices when he suspected their loyalty, appointing his kinsmen and clients and placing leading posts which were still occupied by *awlād al-balad* under his direct supervision. The *amīn* of *Bayt al-Māl* reported daily to him on the state of finances, the *Qāḍī al-Islām* brought all important cases for confirmation, and provincial *ʿumāl* were in direct contact with him in all matters. In addition the Khalīfa was the sole decision maker in the state. No political decision of any importance could be taken without reference to him, indeed through his reign the initiative seems to have lain with him alone.[3]

The Khalīfa's Brother

The Khalīfa's right hand was his brother Yaʿqūb ibn Muḥammad whose only official position was *wakīl al-rāya al-zarqā'* (deputy of the Black flag), but whose real role was as the second man in the state, the power behind the scene and the engineer of the Taʿāisha autocracy.[4]

The last days of the Mahdiyya saw a partial decline in Yaʿqūb's influence, mainly in the military field, after his cousin, the Khalīfa's eldest son, ʿUthmān Shaykh al-Dīn, took over the leadership of the *Mulāzimīn* forces.

1- S. M. Nūr, 1962, 166; I. ʿA. al-Kurdufānī, 1982, 384.

2- S. M. Nūr, 1962, 166.

3- P.M. Holt, 1958, 232.

4- A. B. Theobald, 1967, 186; Iṣmat Ḥassan Zulfū, 1973, *Kararī,* Khartoum, 258.

The Council of State

The Khalīfa abolished the council of the commissioners which was set up by the Mahdī and established a new one which was known as the council of state. Its membership consisted of the survivors of the Mahdī's companions, the *Qādī al-Islām,* and some religious notables. It was presided over by the Khalīfa himself. This council had several meetings during the year; *ʿīd al-Fiṭr* (the festival of the breaking off the fast), *ʿīd al-Aḍḥā* (sacrificial feast) and the meeting of the feast of *Rajabiyya* (27 Rajab, the ascent of the Prophet Muḥammad into Heaven). On *al-Rajabiyya* the Khalīfa used to state his policy for the ensuing year. In spite of these meetings this council was in no sense a legislative or executive body because its membership, meetings, and procedures were informal and dependent on the will of the Khalīfa.[1] The Khalīfa used to hold this council in order to obtain political support for his serious decisions. For instance, in 1309/1891 this council passed the following sentence on the khalīfa Muḥammad Sharīf, when he protested the Khalīfa's policy:

> *.... now whereas the Khalīfa Muḥammad Sharīf Ḥāmid appeared as an antagonist to Khalīfat al-Mahdī (peace upon him), being an enemy, and opposing and disobeying until he started war and drew the sword against him without taking into account of fact that injured the religion and divided the stick (power) of the Muslims. After all this a delegation of Muslims brought him before them and made him swear on the Book of God, and so he swore and gave his word of honour not to go back and do what he had done in the past and to be under the sight of the Khalīfat al-Mahdī (peace upon him) and be like the followers of the Mahdī in humbleness and obedience and cleanliness of heart. And he appeared before the Khalīfat al-Mahdī (peace upon him) who accepted him in spite of his crimes and evil deeds, pardoned him, and met him with kindness and grace.*
>
> *After all this, he broke his oath and went back to his opposition and disobedience in addition to giving up Friday and community prayer. The community of the*

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[1]- Shuqayr,1967, 1242; A. B. Theobald, 1967, 186.

Mahdī's followers consisting of judges of the Muslim law, umarā', ʿumad and notables asked him to explain his deeds; and he met them with the worst of speech and pronounced words which made events go from bad to worse, saying that the victory of Mahdism is under his foot, and so on. But they warned him with nice words to withdraw from his attitude and read to him the proclamation of the Mahdī in regard to the appointment of the Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi. And so he showed his regret and repentance, but as he formerly broke his oath and ceased his repentance, the judgment of the Committee was given in accordance with Muslim law by putting him in prison. Had it not been that he showed repentance, his punishment would have been more severe, and that was very clear to the followers of the Mahdī whose seals and names follow here under, and who will give evidence before God [1]...

The Provincial Administration

The Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi followed his predecessor in dividing the Sudan into *ʿamālāt* (provinces), corresponding roughly with those of the Turco-Egyptian Government; but their boundaries and capitals changed in accordance with military necessity. Thus Kordofan and Darfur were sometimes administered as one unit, sometimes as two; similarly the eastern Sudan at first came under the authority of ʿUthmān Diqna, but after the fall of Ṭūkar in 1896 appears to have been subdivided. The Khalīfa's *ʿamālāt* were Dongola, Berber, al-Qallābāt, al-Qaḍārīf, *iqlīm* Omdurman, al-Gharib (Kordofan & Darfur), Baḥr al-Ghazāl, and Baḥr al-Jabal or al-Rajāf.[2] *Iqlīm* Omdurman meant the centre of the Sudan from Ḥajar al-ʿAsal in the north of Sabalūqa to Karkūj and Fashūda in the South and was administered from the capital directly.[3]

Each *ʿamāla* had its own *ʿāmil* who was responsible directly to the Khalīfa for the administration of his unit and had both civil and military authority in his hands. Under each *ʿāmil* came a number of *umarā'* who

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1- M. I. Abū Salīm, 1969, 108-10; N. Shuqayr, 1967, 1169; C. F. Lobban, 1987, Islamic law and society in the Sudan, U. S. A., 33-4.

2- J. A. Reid, 1926, "some notes on the Khalīfa Abdallāhi on contemporary Sudanese sources", *SNR*. vol. XXI, 209-10; F. R. Wingate, 1893, 327-328; N. Shuqayr, 1967, 82.

3- *Manshūrāt*, vol. III, 115; P. M. Holt, 1958, 81.

carried out the orders of their superior, and a number of lesser *ʿamil* of districts who were responsible for collecting taxes and *zakāh*. Each *ʿamāla* had its own *Bayt al-māl* and a number of judges.

Each *ʿāmil,* on his appointment, received verbal instructions from the Khalīfa and referred to Omdurman on any matter of major importance. The former was closely watched by the Khalīfa's agents any suspicion of disloyalty or evidence of gross maladministration would be met by immediate recall to Omdurman for accountancy which would be finished by dismissal, imprisonment or a death sentence. Thus al-Zākī Ṭamal the *ʿāmil* of al-Qaḍārīf fell from grace in 1893 and was imprisoned until he died in prison, and Yūnis al-Dikaym was recalled from Dongola for oppressive administration in 1895.[1]

According to Holt if we look at the *ʿamālāt* of the Mahdist state from an economic angle, we can classify them into two categories, metropolitan and military *ʿamālāt.* The former consisted of the riverain lands from Ḥajar al-ʿAsal to Karkūj and Fashūda in the South. This area was administered from Omdurman, representing the heart of the Mahdist State, consisting of twenty districts,*qism* pl. *aqsām*, each headed by an officer known as *wakīl* (agent) who was responsible directly to the Khalīfa and the *amīn* of the *Bayt al-māl* for the administration of his unit. The military ones formed the periphery, shielding the metropolitan area and comprising Dongola, al-Gharb, Baḥr al-Ghazāl, Baḥr al-Jabal and the eastern *ʿamālāt* [2]. The *ʿumāl* of these military *ʿamālāt* were military rather than administrative officers.

The Army

During the revolutionary period the Mahdist army was composed of two categories: regular and irregular soldiers (volunteers). These two categories were linked to three sections under their respective flags; and each *khalīfa* was in actual command of his section and had a number of *umarāʿ* under him.[3]

All the troops of the Mahdiyya wore the same uniform, consisting of a *jibba;* a long shirt made of local cloth and covered with patches of various colours. The Khalīfa's government paid much attention to the army,

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1- J. A. Reid, 1926, 210, Theobald, 1967, 177-8.

2- P. M. Holt, 1958, 81.

3- I. H. Zulfū, 1973, 126-7.

constructing a large building beside the mosque which was known as *Bayt al-amāna*. It was subdivided into various departments in which were stored powder, ammunition, guns, and others equipment of war. Most of the Mahdist arms were captured from the former regime; about forty six guns, mostly small mountain guns, 1,000 Remington rifles and 700 other assorted rifles, in addition to local weapons such as swords and spears. Besides these weapons the Mahdists inherited from the Turks a workshop for repairing arms, and eight steamboats which were used in the transport of the armies in riverain areas.[1]

After the Mahdī's death the Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi carried on the organization of his predecessor for a short period. Now all the Mahdist armies were placed under the command of Yaʿqūb. After the revolt of the Ashrāf in 1886 against the Khalīfa's policy, the powers of the two *khalīfas;* ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad Ḥilū and Muḥammad Sharīf were diminished. Thus the former's flag was placed under the leadership of Yaʿqūb, and the latter's forces were reduced. Thus the Khalīfa became the supreme commander of the Mahdist armies. He was responsible for the general policy and grand strategy of the army. In each annual parade which was held on *Rajabiyya* and attended by the commanders of all major units including the provincial garrisons, the Khalīfa with the council of war laid down the military policy for the ensuing year. The *amīr* Yaʿqūb was the executive director of this policy; he was responsible for the day to day running of the army and the military affairs of the *ʿamālāt.* [2]

The nucleus of the Khalīfa's army were the *Jihādiyya* (slave soldiers), armed with rifles, of whom there were permanent garrisons of some 12,000 in Omdurman, with smaller numbers in the chief provincial garrisons. The majority of those who were the *mulāzimīn,* the Khalīfa's body guard, were living in a special quarter of the town under the command of ʿUthmān Shaykh al-Dīn. They were the only soldiers who received regular payment from *Bayt māl al-mulāzimīn,* with an issue of clothing twice a year. The second armed force in Omdurman was the Black Flag or Division which consisted of 30,000 swordsmen and spearsmen under the leadership of Yaʿqūb, and 8,000 tribesmen from the White Nile under the Green Flag of ʿAlī Muḥammad Ḥilū.[3]

1- M. El-Mahdi, 1965, 115.

2- I. Zulfū, 1973, 149.

3- A. B. Theobald, 1967, 178.

This army adopted a strict seniority pattern. Every twenty soldiers were grouped under the charge of a *muqaddam*, every hundred under a *rās mīya*, (head of a hundred); several hundreds were under the command of an *amīr*, and a number of *umarāᶜ* came under a senior *amīr*. Each *amīr* had his own flag and war drum.[1]

The Fiscal System

After the Mahdī's death, the *Bayt al-māl* witnessed many changes in its structures and its financial administration. In 1886 the Khalīfa dismissed Aḥmad Sulaymān, replacing him by Ibrāhīm ᶜAdlān.[2] The latter reorganized the *Bayt al-māl*, dividing it into several sections, introduced an effective system of accounts, and reappointed competent clerks with experience under the former regime.

After the dismissal of the *amin* of the *Bayt al-māl*, Ibrāhīm ᶜAdlān, in 1890, the *Bayt al-māl* was divided into several sub-treasuries, each under a separate administration which was responsible directly to the Khalīfa or his brother Yaᶜqūb. This division caused a major change in the structure of the fiscal institutions at the central government (See Chapter Three).

The Judicial System

The organization of the judiciary of the Khalīfa's regime did not differ from the Mahdī's. But the Khalīfa extended the framework established by his predecessor to cope with new situations. The Supreme Judicial Powers were held by the Khalīfa though his powers to hear and determine cases at law were delegated to the *Qāḍī al-Islām* and his subordinates in the capital and provinces. By this delegation the *Qāḍī al-Islām* became the head of judiciary and the chief of the *maḥkamat al-Islām* in Omdurman. There he had a deputy and six assistant judges, *nūwwāb al-sharᶜa*, besides provincial judges, and the judges of the specialized courts.[3]

The responsibility of the provincial and specialized judges was limited to minor cases; major ones, such as homicide, had to be submitted to the

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1- M. El-Mahdi, 1965, 155.

2- R. Hill, 1967, 172.

3- P. M. Holt, 1958, 115.

maḥkamat al-Islām in Omdurman. All cases tried by the junior judges at the centre had to be approved and sealed by the *Qāḍī al-Islām* or his deputy and the more important ones by the Khalīfa.[1]

The lawcourts during the Khalīfa's period were constituted as follow:

1. ***Maḥkamat al-Islām***

It was set up in Omdurman under the command of the *Qāḍī al-Islām*, his deputy and six assistant judges. It performed several functions besides acting as an ordinary court of justice for the locality, e.g. dealing with cases referred to it by the Khalīfa as well as appeals by ordinary persons outside the capital. This court was always held at the mosque.[2]

2. **Provincial courts**

Both the Mahdī and the Khalīfa established several courts in the provinces with limited power to deal with minor cases, while major ones had to be submitted to Omdurman for confirmation of the sentence by the *maḥkamat al-Islām*. Each province had two judges, one responsible for all legal and religious matters and the other for all disputes between the people and the *bayt al-māl*. Both were responsible to the *Qādī al-Islām* in Omdurman.[3]

3. **Specialized courts**

Besides the provincial courts, the Mahdist rulers set up several specialized courts:

1- A. B. Theobald, 1967, 170.

2- P. M. Holt, 1958, 242; A. B. Theobald, 1967, 170.

3- F. R. Wingate, 1968, 476.

i. The market court

It was composed of two judges, a number of inspectors of the market, a clerk, and some soldiers. This court dealt with commercial disputes such as payment in false coinage, debts, fraudulent dealing, etc.[1]

ii. The *Bayt al-māl* court

It consisted of two judges who were responsible for fiscal cases which were tied with the *Bayt al-māl*, as well as for issuing certificates for slaves who were sold or bought by the *Bayt al-māl* .[2]

iii. The *Mulāzimīn* court

The judge of the *mulāzimīn* jurisdiction was limited to cases which involved among the *mulāzimīn* themselves or the *mulāẓimīn* and ordinary persons.[3]

Besides these courts the Khalīfa established several courts for quays, the regular soldiers in Omdurman, the headquarters of the province, and expeditionary forces which were camping on the boundaries of the state.

The Prison

Al-Sāyīr was the main prison of the Mahdiyya for both ordinary criminals and political opponents. It took its name from the chief gaoler Idrīs al-Sāyīr. During the Mahdī's period it consisted of the common compound *"umm ḥujār"* surrounded by a large *zarība* of thorn trees and branches, standing about six feet high.[4]

After the Mahdī's death the Khalīfa replaced the *zarība* by a big wall round the common compound on the left bank of the Nile. The administration of the prison used to drive the prisoners at night into prison, and during the day to use them in construction work on the principal buildings of the state.

1- F. R. Wingate, 1891, 146.

2- Hussayn Sid Aḥmad al-Muftī, 1959, *Taṭawwūr Nizām al-Qāḍā' fi al-Sūdān*, Khartoum, 182.

3- R. Slatin, 1896, 546; P. M. Holt, 1958, 244; H. S. al-Muftī, 1959, 185.

4- C. Neufeld, 1899, *A prisoner of the Khalīfa*, London, 83.

The prisoners depended for their food largely on the assistance of their relatives and friends because the prison food was insufficient.[1]

The management of this prison was placed in the hands of the chief gaoler Idrīs al-Sāyīr whose staff consisted of junior gaolers and thirty guardians who were armed with *kurbājs* (a hide whip), with which to keep their charges in order. The chief gaoler was directly responsible to the Khalīfa for his administration. He used regularly to produce a list of all prisoners who had completed their legal period in prison for the Khalīfa to authorize their release. In addition the *Qāḍī al-Islām* monthly went to the prison to report to the Khalīfa about the state of all the prisoners in general and those who were waiting for their release in particular.[2]

The System of Communications

In contemporary terms there was no system of postal communication in the Mahdist State. But the Khalīfa based his communications with principal officials on the state camel-post, *al-hajjāna* which was under the leadership of Karār Bashīr al-ʿAbbādī who had served the Turks before the Mahdiyya as the deputy post master of Kordofan[3]. Each *ʿāmil* had a similar postal system to be in touch with his districts for carrying out the orders which were issued from the centre. Besides the *Hajjāna* the steamboats which were captured from the former regime played an important role in transporting troops and corn on the White Nile.[4]

Although the written despatches between the Khalīfa and his *ʿumāl* were regular, the Khalīfa placed a special value on the verbal reports of the postmen who were directly despatched, and frequently obtained from them important information, concerning the attitude and behaviour of his *ʿumāl*.[5]

The thirteen years of the Khalīfa's rule were a period of organization and skilful balance of forces, reflecting a strong will and an able

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1- *Manshūrāt*, vol. III, 79-80; F. R. Wingate, 1893, 358; A. B. Theobald, 1967, 1801.

2- F. R. Wingate, 1893, 358; A. B. Theobald, 1967, 1801.

3- P. M. Holt, 1958, 230.

4- V. Yājī, 1986, "*al-Khalīfa al-mufra 'alayhī*", a paper presented to *the Conference of the National movement*, Khartoum, 4.

5- R. Slatin, 1896, 527.

administrative capacity working within limits of a narrow experience.[1] He extended the main lines of the administration established by his predecessor, promoted the efficiency of the political and administrative institutions, and employed a great number of competent officials of the former regime.

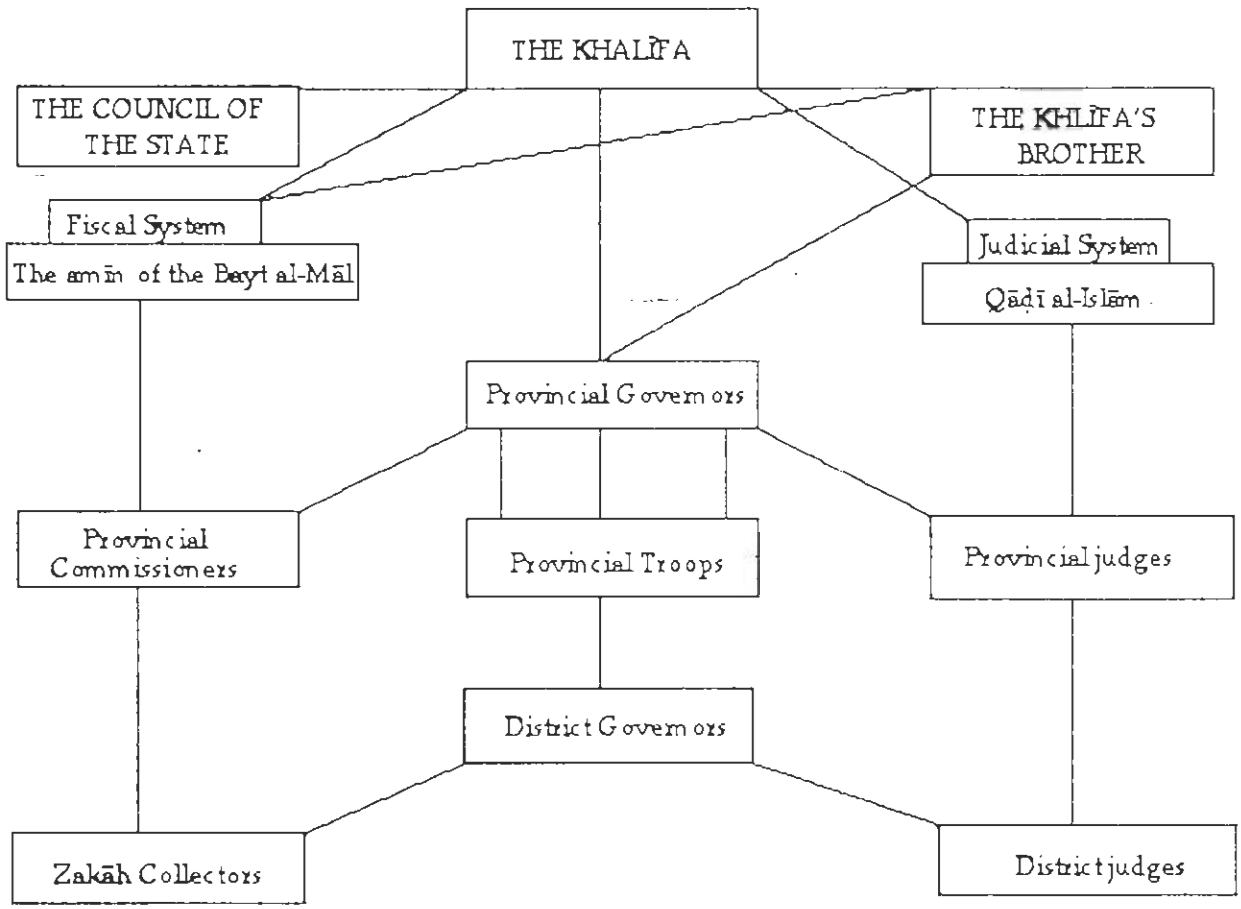

Fig. 2.2. The administrative Structure of the Khalīfa's Government

[1]- I. H. Zulfū, 1973, 86.

CHAPTER THREE

Fiscal Institutions

By the fiscal institutions, the writer of the present study means the *Bayt al-māl*, its provincial branches, the specialized treasuries, the mint, and the slave market in Omdurman. The object of this chapter is to examine the establishment and development of these fiscal institutions. Undoubtedly, the *Bayt al-māl* will be the core of the investigation, because it was the nucleus of the financial administration of the Mahdist state.

The *Bayt al-māl*

Bayt al-Māl, in its concrete meaning "the House of wealth", denoted particularly, in an abstract sense, the treasury of the Muslim State. It was established as an Islamic institution in 20/641, during the *khilāfa* of ʿUmar ibn al-Kaṭṭāb.[1]

In this Islamic sense, it had been established by the Mahdī in 1882 at the camp of Jabal Qadīr. The main reason for the establishment of this fiscal institution, in that early period of the revolution, was the booty which had been captured from the former regime and its supporters in the western Sudan. This booty created many problems in the Mahdī's camp at Qadīr, mainly among the warriors. These problems involved the storage and distribution of booty. This *Bayt al-māl* started on a small scale as a store for the booty and the *zakāh* of the conquered territories. Its administration was placed in the hands of the Mahdī's friend, Aḥmad Sulaymān. Aḥmad Sulaymān administered it in accordance with the Mahdī's orders.[2] During this stage, there was no formal system for the regulation of state revenue and expenditure. At that time, the *Bayt al-māl* moved together with the armies of the revolution. Thus it was transferred from Qadīr to al-Ubayyiḍ in 1883 and to al-Rahad in 1884.

After the fall of Khartoum in January 1885, it moved from al-Rahad to the new Mahdist capital, Omdurman. There its jurisdiction was extended to

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1- H. A. Gibb, & others, 1960, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. I, London, 1141-47.

2- R. Slatin, 1896, 230; C. Issawi, ed., 1966, *The Economic History of the Middle East, 1800-1914*, London, 491.

cope with the new situation, including general supervision of the provincial treasuries which were established in the *ʿamālāt*, minting of coinage and the management of the government property.

Immediately after the Mahdī's death in June 1885, the Khalīfa took power. During his reign the *Bayt al-māl* in particular saw many changes in its structure and administration. Here, we see how the influence of the ruling institution and personal aspiration affected the development of this fiscal institution. In 1886 the Khalīfa dismissed Aḥmad Sulaymān for maladministration and appointed Ibrāhīm ʿAdlān, who was known for his financial ability.[1] During the first period of his tenure ʿAdlān moved the *Bayt al-māl* from its original position during the Mahdī's period to the river-bank, thus avoiding the unnecessary transport of articles brought by boats to the stores and vice versa. Here he built an extensive yard of bricks, dividing it into several sections, namely, a section for buying and selling, a section for storage, a section for book-keeping and accounts, a section for finance, a section for minting coinage and a section for slaves. ʿAdlān also introduced an effective system of accounts, and appointed competent clerks who had experience under the former regime.

Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm

In political terms the Khalīfa's accession after the Mahdi's death in June 1885 was only reluctantly accepted among the *Ashrāf*, and their supporters among the *awlād al-balad* . From that time, both the *Ashrāf* and the *awlād al-balad* disturbed the political surface by their opposition to the Khalīfa's rule. The Khalīfa did not give them a chance; from the beginning he removed the majority from power. One year after his accession, he filled the higher executive posts with his own tribesmen, the Baqqāra. On the other hand, he could not replace with his uneducated nomads the specialized elite of *the awlād al-balad* which held the clerical and administrative offices. In this area the Khalīfa adopted a new policy, aiming to reduce the power of the specialized elite. For instance, after the dismissal of the *amīn* of the *Bayt al-māl*, and the architect of the fiscal system of the Mahdist state, Ibrāhīm

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1- Ibrāhīm w. [Muhammad] ʿAdlān (d.1891) Mahdist official, originally a merchant of al-Ubayyiḍ, later of Wad Madanī. On the deposition of the Khalīfa Abdallāhi's treasurer, Ahmād Sulaymān 1886, he was appointed to this post., See R. Hill, 1967, 172.

ʿAdlān in 1890, the *Bayt al-māl* was divided into several sub-treasuries. Each was placed under a separate administration which was responsible directly to the Khalīfa through his brother Yaʿqūb. This division made a major change in the structure of the fiscal institutions at the central government. The *Bayt al-māl* was diminished, and its name was changed to **the *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm,*** (the General Treasury) to distinguish it from the sub-treasuries. Its revenues were limited to booty, *zakāh,* confiscation, contributions from the merchants, tithes on imported and exported commodities, profits from minting and exchange of money, and the rents of shops and boats. Its expenditures were mainly for the military service, the salaries of the employees of the central government, the donations of the *zakāh* for the poor and the Khalīfa's family.[1]

Specialized Treasuries

1) *Bayt Māl al-Mulāzimīn*

The *mulāzimīn* were the bodyguard of the Khalīfa. They were selected from Maḥmūd Aḥmad's and al-Zākī Ṭamal's armies and from prisoners of war who were kept at the *Bayt al-māl.* The main duty of those soldiers was to accompany the Khalīfa on all occasions and at the important meetings. For them the Khalīfa erected a big compound close to his house. They received a monthly payment in cash and kind from the *Bayt al-māl.* Each soldier received a regular payment in cash for himself and a certain quantity of grain for his family, (see Chapter Five, 75).[2]

In 1894 as a part of the Khalīfa's fiscal policy, the *Bayt Māl al-mulāzimīn* (the treasury of the bodyguards) was established as a special treasury for the bodyguard of the Khalīfa. Its revenues were taken from the Gezira area and the east bank of the Nile. Its expenditures were allocated for the monthly payment of the *mulāzimīn* .[3]

1- N. Shuqayr,1967, 1259-60.

2- R. Slatin, 1896, 424.

3- F. R. Wingate, 1968, 474.

2) *Bayt Māl al-Khums*

As we mentioned above a fifth of the booty was allocated under the *Sharīʿa* for the *Imām* (the head of the Muslim community) and the rest distributed among the warriors. During the Mahdī's period this fifth was stored in the *Bayt al-māl* and distributed in accordance with his orders. In 1895 the Khalīfa founded a special treasury which was known as *Bayt māl al-khums* for his fifth. Slatin calls it *Bayt māl khums al-Khalīfa* (the treasury of the Khalīfa's fifth); Shuqayr gives a different name: *Bayt māl khums al-Khalīfa wa 'l-Fayʾ* (the treasury of the Khalīfa's fifth and domainland), while Abū Salīm distinguishes between the treasury of the Fifth and the Treasury of the Domainland[1]. It appears that those historians call this treasury according to its revenue (al-fayʾ and al-khums) and expediture rather than its official name. The present writer prefers to use the official term: *Bayt māl al-Khums* (the Khalīfa's private treasury) in accordance with the statements of accounts of the *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm* in 1314-15/1896-97. This treasury drew its revenues from the Khalīfa's share in the booty, the income of the domainland[2] in al-Kāmlīn, Khartoum, al-Ḥalfaya, Berber and Dongola. Its expenditures were allocated for the private needs of the Khalīfa.[3]

3) *Bayt Māl Warshat al-Ḥarbiyyah wa 'l-Tarasāna*

The Khalīfa paid special attention to the equipment necessary for war. For this purpose he reorganized the dockyard of the former regime at Khartoum. He employed a number of workmen who had experience with the Turks in their previous

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1- R. Slatin, 1896, 548; N. Shuqayr, 1967, 1259-60; P. M. Holt, 1958, 239; M. I. Abū Salīm, 1970, 40.

2- The domainland was that land captured from the previous regime and their supporters by the Mahdists.

3- R. Slatin, 1896, 548.

jobs[1]. The main function of this dockyard was concentrated on the maintenance of the five steamers which were used to transport the armies and grain.[2] In addition the Khalīfa reappointed many workmen to the arsenal in Omdurman. For the expenses of these two departments the Khalīfa established *Bayt Māl Warshat al-Ḥarbiyyah wa 'l-Tarasāna* (the treasury of the military workshop and dockyard). It derived its income from the produce of the agricultural plots of Khartoum and the taxes on ivory. Its expenditure was directed towards financing the dockyard, the maintenance of the armories and the manufacture of arms and ammunition *at bayt al-amāna.* [3]

4) *Bayt Māl al-Jihādiyya*

The *jihādiyya* were mainly Sudanese, originally from the south and Nūba mountains. They had served in the Turco-Egyptian forces and had been captured by the Mahdists. They were particularly valuable as soldiers because of their experience with fire-arms. After the fall of al-Ubayyiḍ they were commanded by Ḥamdān of Abū ᶜAnja. Although the Mahdī called all his followers *Anṣār,* the *jihādiyya* still kept their former name. At that time the *Jihādiyya* were the only regular soldiers of the Mahdist Army, and they received a monthly payment from the *Bayt al-māl.*[4] In 1895 the Khalīfa established a new treasury which was known as *Bayt Māl al-jihādiyya* (the *jihādiyya* treasury) for them. It derived its revenues from the west bank of the Nile in *iqlīm* Omdurman.

5) *Bayt Māl Ḍabaṭiyat al-Sūq*

One of the important places in Omdurman was the market. Here the Mahdī established a court which was known as *maḥkamat*

1- F. R. Wingate, 1968, 476.

2- Ibid., 476.

3- F. R. Wingate, 1891, 302; M. S. al-Qaddāl, 1986, *al-Siyāsat al-iqtisādiyyat fī al-Dwlat al-Mahdiyya*, Khartoum, 170-71.

4- P. M. Holt, & M. W. Daly, 1989, 90.

al-Sūq, (the market court). It dealt with cases relating to debt, fraudulent dealing, and payment in false coinage etc[1]. Besides this court, there was an office for the *Ḥākim al-Sūq* (the governor of the market). His duties were limited principally to forcement of the standards of weights, measures and prices. In general they were similar to the duties of *Muḥtasib* in the early Islamic states[2]. He had a military staff, consisting of soldiers. For the expenditure of both offices, the market court and the governor of the market the *Bayt Māl Ḍabaṭiyat al-Sūq* (the treasury of the market police station) was established. It derived its revenues from the property confiscated for gambling and the fines which were imposed on drinking wine, smoking tobacco and taxes on shops. Its expenditures were directed towards wages of the officials, policemen and employees of the market court[3].

The division of the *Bayt al-māl* into separate sub-treasuries under independent administrations reflected the attempt of the ruling institution (the Khalīfa) to diminish the role of the *amīn* of the *Bayt al-māl* and to give himself ultimate control over the fiscal institutions. In administrative terms this policy did not succeed. Therefore, the Khalīfa closed these specialized treasuries, namely *Bayt Māl Ḍabaṭiyat al-Sūq, al-Jihādiyya,* and *Warshat al-Ḥarbiyyah wa 'l-Tarasāna,* after a short period. Subsequently their revenues and expenditures were transferred to the *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm* .[4]

The slave market (*Sūq al-Raqīq*)

The slave trade was long established in Sudanese society. Furthermore the people depended mainly on slaves for manual work.

The capture of slaves had been one the main motives behind the conquest of the Sudan in 1821 by the Egyptians. Thus the successors of

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1- F. R. Wingate, 1893, 346.

2- The office of Muḥtasib was established in medieval Islam. The holder of this post had power of police and regulation over the markets and trade. However, in the Mahdiyya his duties were limited principally to forcement of the standards of weight measures and prices. See, al-Māwardī, 1982, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya,* Beirut, 241.

3- M. S. al-Qaddāl, 1986, 171-74.

4- Statement of accounts of the *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm.*

Muḥammad ʿAlī in the Sudan exported a great number of slaves to Egypt. Some of these were recruited into the Egyptian army and the rest were sold. Therefore the slave trade flourished in the Sudan, mainly, after the occupation of the Equatorial regions and Baḥr al-Ghazāl. There were many slave dealers who gained great fortunes.

In 1854 Muḥammad Saʿīd Pasha made some attempts to suppress this trade, responding to European pressure. His successor Ismāʿīl continued this policy with great vigour; in August 1877 Egypt and Britain signed the Slave Trade Convention which terminated the slave trade through the territory of the Egyptian Empire and provided for ending the private sale and purchase of slave in the Sudan by 1879.

These attempts by the government to suppress the slave trade struck at an important source of wealth for the slave traders in the Sudan. This policy created hostility among the slave traders and led them to join the Mahdī against the government. Thus the majority believed that after the withdrawal of the Turco-Egyptian administration they could continue the trade.

During the Mahdist period the export of slaves to Egypt was prohibited by the Mahdist authorities, but the internal trade in slaves continued. The Khalīfa prohibited the export of slaves for political reasons. He believed that those slaves would be recruited into the Egyptian army and used against his government.

The Mahdists captured many thousands of slaves from the western Sudan and Ethiopia. All these were moved to Omdurman. There they were kept at the section for slaves at the *Bayt al-māl* as booty.[1] The young men were recruited into the army, notably the bodyguard of the Khalīfa, and the women and girls were sold at public auction. The *Bayt al-māl* legalized the sale of women and girls in the capital and the provinces. Thus it would issue a certificate for each purchaser. The certificate included the name and description of the sold slave, the names of purchaser and vendor, the signatures of the witnesses and of the judge of the *Bayt al-māl*. Then the purchaser paid to the *Bayt al-māl* a certain sum of money for these legal procedures[2]. It appears the main purpose of this system was to prevent the slaves from running away from their masters.

1- R. Slatin, 1896, 555.

2- Ibid., 557.

The following quotation is a document of the sale of a slave during that time:

A "chicken"[1] *called al-Zayn Kullu: sixspan: black in colour: scarified on both cheeks in the country manner,*[2] *and upon her shoulders, stomach chest and back cuts, and upon her right temple a mark of burning: medium [of stature].*

Khalīl Khāṭir Salīm, guardian of the orphans of Ismāʿīl Khātir, declares that he has sold the above described woman, who is part of the inheritance of the dead Ismāʿīl Khāṭir. Her sale has been made to Muḥammad Darwīsh, Muḥammad ʿAlim and Madanī Muḥammad for the price of 80 riyāls [namely] the currency of the Bayt al-māl at Omdurman. He has received the price from them, and this slave woman has been transferred to them as their property. For confirmation of the sale, this has been written for them with the testimony of those who are mentioned below, and God is the best witness. and Greetings.

19 Ṣafar 1312/ 22 August 1894.

He who declares its contents valid
Khalīl Khāṭir Sulaymān (seal)

Witnesses:

al-Usṭa ʿAlī al-ʿUmarī (seal) *ʿAbd al-Razzāq Ibrāhīm (seal)*
ʿAbd al-Samiyʿ Ṣalhlī (seal) *Murād Ḥayba (seal)*
Ḥassan Khāṭir (seal)

1- *Farkha* (chicken) was the Sudanese terms for female slave.

2- The facial scars in the country manner look like the English letter H.

The confirmation of the amīn of the Bayt al-māl

The sale of slave is confirmed according to her description and the acknowledgement of whom is mentioned and this we confirm.

the amīn of the Bayt Māl al-Muslimīn
al-Khaḍr Muhammad Da'ūd
(seal) .[1]

In Omdurman itself, the government established a slave market which was known as *Sūq al-Raqīq* . It was located to the southeast of the *Bayt al-māl.* Here generally fifty or sixty women of various ages were to be found and paraded under the open sky. A great number of slave dealers came to this market daily. Before the bargain took place those traders used to ask all sorts of questions about those slaves in order to check their language, morals and looks. The prices were fixed in accordance with these questions. The payment was always made in local currency (*'umlah jadīda rīyāl*) as follow:

For a mature working slave	*from 50 to 80 riyāls*
For a middle-aged woman	*" 80 " 120 "*
For a young girl (8-11 years)	*" 110 " 160 "*
For a sirriyya(concubine)	*" 180 " 700 "* .[2]

The Mint

After the fall of Khartoum the Mahdī became the first Sudanese sovereign to exercise the traditional prerogative of a Muslim ruler to strike money in his own name.[3] He established a mint under the supervision of the *Bayt al-māl,* and Ilyās 'Abdallāhi al-Kurdī was appointed as chief die cutter.[4] It appears this mint was erected at al-Hijra in Omdurman because the first series of the Mahdī's *rīyāl* bore the name of al-Hijra on its reverse as an indication of the

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1- M. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, 1935, *Muḥāḍara fī 'urūbat al-Sūdān*, Cairo, 78.

2- R. Slatin, 1896, 558.

3- P. M. Holt, & M. W. Daly, 1989, 97.

4- F. R. Wingate, 1968, 598.

Minti. During the period of Ibrāhīm ʿAdlān this mint was reorganized and placed under the joint administration of Ilyās al-Kurdī and ʿAbd Allāh Garandal, who was a jeweller from Bokhara2. The coins which were minted in this mint are discussed in Chaper Six.

1- Personal communication with Prof. M. I. Abū Salīm, Bergen, 1990.

2- F. R. Wingate, 1892, 230; M. S. al-Gaddāl, 1981, 5.

CHAPTER FOUR

Financial Administration

This chapter deals with the administration of the fiscal institutions of the Mahdist state in general and the *Bayt al-māl* in particular. It will discuss the role of the *amīn* of the *Bayt al-māl*, and his relationship with the ruling class in the centre and his subordinates in the provincial treasuries. It may answer the question: was there continuity or change in the fiscal system of the Mahdist State?

The *Bayt al-māl*

The centre of the financial administration of the Mahdist state was the *Bayt al-māl*, its fiscal departments in Omdurman and the provincial branches in the *ʿamālāt*. The controller of these institutions, the *amīn* of the *Bayt al-māl*, was the most important civil servant in the state. The first holder of this office was Aḥmad Sulaymān.[1] He was appointed in 1882 at Jabal Qadīr. During that time his duties concentrated mainly on the storage and distribution of booty. In *Jamādā* I 1300/March 1883 the Mahdī declared his appointment formally to the *Anṣār*:

> *.....I [the Mahdī] have found no one like Aḥmad Sulaymān to act as my assistant with integrity and trustworthiness, goodwill in service and high zeal. So I have appointed him to serve the Muslims and the Bayt al-māl as amīn [Commissioner] over it on my behalf, and he is responsible in what he does that [....] He may therefore appoint anyone to assist him and dismiss anyone who does not respond to his commands and judge anyone where the judgement is due. He has received permission from the Lord of Being [the Prophet], and if he gives judgement in any case on behalf of the Bayt al-māl or matter concerning it, let him judge only with justice and truth .. ...*[2]

1- A. B. Theobald, 1967, 181.

2- N. Shuqayr, 1967, 932-34; P. M. Holt, 1958, 110.

This proclamation explains that Aḥmad Sulaymān's jurisdiction included the storage of the *zakāh* and the booty, distribution of the booty among the warriors according to the Qur'ān and Sunna, and the appointment and dismissal of his subordinates . Therefore on 26 *Ṣafar* 1301/ 27 December 1883 Aḥmad Sulaymān issued an ordinance to his subordinates, revealing their duties and urging them to do their work with high zeal and integrity.[1]

After the capture of Khartoum, the *Bayt al-māl* was transferred to Omdurman. There its jurisdiction was increased to cope with the new situation, including the supervision of the provincial treasuries, the Mint; the lithographic press, the slave market and the commercial property of the government.

After the appointment of Ibrāmīn ᶜAdlān, the *Bayt al-māl* saw major changes in its structure and administration. ᶜAdlān reoganized it and improved its efficiency to cope with government needs. He divided it into several sections for different functions; namely, a section for buying and selling, a section for storage, a section for minting coinage, and a section for bookkeeping. Each had its own function; for example, the section for buying and selling was responsible for farming taxes which were collected in kind and for buying government requirements from the markets.

The duties of the *amīn of the Bayt al-māl*

The *amīn* of the *Bayt al-māl* was undoubtedly the most important civil servant in the state. He was the head of the financial administration of the *Bayt al-māl* in Omdurman. In addition he had some authority over the provincial treasuries. His duties included:

1. General supervision over the state revenues and expenditure, the mint, slave market, lithographic press, commercial property of the government, such as land, shops, mills, oil-press, boats, docks, etc.
2. He was in charge of reporting to the Khalīfa daily, monthly, and annually about the state of finances[2].

1- M. I. Abū Salīm, 1969, 234.

2- M. S. al-Gaddāl, 1986, 214-15

3. The confirmation of the payments to the regular soldiers and officials by the cashier of the *Bayt al-māl*. In special cases the Mahdī and later Yaʿqūb, who was responsible for issuing authority to make payments to the *Bayt al-māl,* and the *amīn* of the *Bayt al-māl,* who was in charge, gave final approval to the cashier. The authorization was delivered to the person who was to receive the payment. However, the authorization could be taken directly to the *Bayt al-māl* where the required cash would be handed over.[1]
4. The appointment and dismissal of his subordinates.
5. During the last years of the Mahdist state, the *amīn* of the *Bayt al-māl* used to go to the markets daily. There he collected the customs dues and stamped the private goods of the merchants which were imported from abroad.[2]

The *amīn* of the *Bayt al-māl* had an efficient fiscal staff consisting of:

1. The deputy of the *amīn* of the *Bayt al-māl.*
2. The cashier "*amīn al-nuqūd*".
3. The commissioner for sales and purchases.
4. The commissioner of the granary.
5. The commissioner of the one-fifth.
6. The judge of the *Bayt al-māl.*
7. Accountants.
8. Clerks[3].

After the dismissal of Ibrāhīm ʿAdlān, the *Bayt al-māl* was divided into several sub-treasuries. By these changes the *Bayt al-māl* lost its valuable sources of revenue, and its name was changed to *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm* to distinguish it from the sub-treasuries. Consequently the jurisdiction of the *amīn* of the *Bayt māl* was diminished. Each sub-treasury had its own *amīn* of the *Bayt al-māl* who was responsible directly to the Khalīfa through his

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1- M. I. Abū Salīm, 1969, 163; M. S. al-Ǧaddāl, 1986, 174-5.

2- F. R. Wingate, 1893, 379.

3- Ṣ. M. Nūr, 1962, 168.

brother Yaʿqūb who was appointed as an inspector over these treasuries and authorized to exercise control over the expenses of the *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm*.[1]

The Commissioners of the *Bayt al-māl*

1. Aḥmad Sulaymān (1883-1886)

Aḥmad Sulaymān was one of the earliest followers of the Mahdī. In *Jamādā I* 1300/March 1883 he was appointed as first *amīn* of the *Bayt al-māl* at Jabal Qadīr. A year after the Mahdī's death, in *Shaʿabān* 1303/April 1886 the Khalīfa asked him to introduce a detailed report cencerning the accounts of the *bayt al-māl* during his tenure, when the latter failed to produce necessary receipts, the former dismissed and put him in jail for maladministration.[2] After had he got release, in 1889 he participated in the conspiracy of the *Ashrāf* against the Khalīfa. Consequently, he was arrested and exiled to Fashūda where he was killed.[3]

2. Ibrāhīm Muḥammad ʿAdlān (1886-1890)

Originally, he was a merchant in al-Ubayyiḍ and later Wad Madanī. He joined the Mahdī at the beginning of the revolution. He was appointed as a deputy of the *amīn* of the *Bayt al-māl*. After the fall of Kassala, he was sent to establish a treasury at al-Qaḍārīf. In 1886 he succeeded Aḥmad Sulaymān. He showed himself an outstanding administrator of finances[4]. His most significant reforms and contributions included the division of the *Bayt al-māl*, into several departments, the introduction of an efficient system of accounts, and the employment of a great number of employees who had experience under the Turco-Egyptian administration. During his time he persuaded the Khalīfa to reopen the trade with Egypt. These achievements

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1- M. S. al-Qaddāl, 1986, 174; Y. Nakash,1988, 368.

2- R. Hill, 1967, 39.

3- F. R. Wingate, 1891, 206-7.

4- P. M. Holt, 1958, 174.

enabled him to gain much popularity among the people. On the other hand, they aroused the jealousy of the Khalīfa's brother, Yaʿqūb. Its appears that this jealousy ended with the execution of ʿAdlān in 1891 because he was accused of having secret relations with the Egyptian government.[1]

After the death of Ibrāhīm ʿAdlān, the *Bayt al-māl* was for a short time placed under the joint commissionership of al-Zākī ʿUthmān and al-ʿAwaḍ al-Marḍī. This was terminated in Shaʿabān 1307/March 1891 by the appointment of al-Nūr Ibrahīm al-Jirayfāwī.

3. al-Nūr Ibrahīm al-Jirayfāwī (1891-1893)

He was a merchant and a member of the local court of Khartoum under the Turco-Egyptian administration. After the fall of Khartoum, he was appointed *amīn* for the *Bayt al-māl* of Berber which was organized by him[2]. In 1307/1891 he succeeded Ibrāhīm ʿAdlān in the commissionership of the *Bayt al-māl al-ʿUmūm* in Omdurman. After his dismissal from the *Bayt al-māl* in 1310/1893, he was appointed as *amīn* of the *Bayt māl warshshat al-ḥarbiyah wa 'l-tarasana* and the head of the Mint in 1894.[3]

4. Al-ʿAwaḍ al-Marḍī (1893-1896)

During the Turkiyya al-ʿAwaḍ al-Marḍī was the head clerk of al-Tākā province. He joined the Mahdī after the fall of Khartoum. He succeeded Muḥammad Khālid al-ʿUmarābī as *amīn* of the *bayt māl* of al-Qaḍārīf in 1304/1887; he was then the agent of the *amin Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm* in 1893, he succeeded al-Nūr al-Jirayfawī as *amīn* of the *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm* until 1314/1896.[4]

1- F. R. Wingate, 1891, 337-8, R. Hill, 1965, 172; S. M. Nūr, 1962, 208-11.

2- I. Shaḥātah, 1965, *al-Idārat al-Mahdiyya fī al-Sūdān*, M. Phil. thesis, University of Cairo, Khartoum, 192.

3- P. M. Holt, 1955, "the archives of the Mahdiyya", *SNR*, vol. XXXVI, 75.

4- Ibid., 75.

According to Shuqayr, al-ʿAwaḍ al-Marḍī held this post twice; the first term started in 1310/1893 and finished when he was succeeded by Ibrāhīm Ramaḍān, the second was a short one, three months in 1315/1898[1]. During this last tenure he was accused of corruption. He then was dismissed and kept under arrest until the fall of the Mahdiyya in 1898.[2]

5. Ibrāhīm Ramaḍān (1896-1898)

He started his Mahdist career as *amīn* of the *bayt māl* of Darfur under the administration of the first governor of Darfur, Muḥammad Khālīd Zuqal (1884-1886).[3] He held this post from 1884 till 1889. He then succeeded al-ʿAwaḍ al-Marḍī at the *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm* until 1315/1898.

Aḥmad Yāsīn al-Nayal (1898)

He succeeded Ibrāhīm Ramaḍān as the last *amīn* of the *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm* in 1898. Before that he had been the *amīn* of the *bayt māl* of Adūnba and Marssā Tirinkitāt, in the eastern Sudan until 1307. In 1310/1893 he was appointed as *amīn* of the *bayt māl* Berber.[4]

The Mint

The Mint, as one of the fiscal institutions, was placed under the administration of the *amīn* of the *Bayt al-māl* in Omdurman. But, technically, it had its own administration. Ilyās al-Kurdī was appointed as chief die cutter; and ʿAbd Allāh Qarandal was his assistant, and ʿAbd Allāh Sulaymān was the head of the workshop, where the coins were actually minted.[5] Later on ʿAbd Allāh Qarandal succeeded Ilyās al-Kurdī as chief die

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1- N. Shuqayr, 1967, 625.

2- M. S. al-Qaddāl, 1986, 181.

3- Ibid., 182.

4- Ibid., 181.

5- F. R. Wingate, 1892, 230; J. S. Job, 1920, "The coinage of the Mahdī and the Khalīfa", *SNR*. vol. III, 170.

cutter. The administration of the workshop was divided into three sections, over which Aḥmad Abd Allāh Sulaymān, ʿAbd al-Majīd ʿAbd Allāh, and Waqīʿ Allāh were placed as heads.[1] In 1894 the Khalīfa formed a committee to reorganize the mint. According to the committee's proposals the Khalīfa dismissed the former administration, centralizing the administration of the Mint in the hands of al-Nūr al-Jirayfāwī.[2]

The lithographic Press

Although the lithographic press was not one of the fiscal institutions, it was placed under the administration of the *Bayt al-māl*. This lithographic press was captured by the Mahdists on the fall of Khartoum on 26 January 1885. In addition the Mahdists seized a considerable quantity of paper which was used later for government requirements. The Mahdists first operated the press in its original place in Khartoum, but later they transferred it during the months of *Shaʿbān* and *Ramaḍān* 1304/1887 to Omdurman, at the *Bayt al-māl*. Besides the supervision of the *amīn* of the *Bayt al-māl*, this press had its own technical administration, consisting of:[3]

Controller	Mukhtār Maḥmūd Bādī, a Dunqulāwī
Chief-printer	Muḥammad Zuhnī, a *muwallad*
Copyist	Ḥassan Sālab Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥusaīnī, (Egyptian ?)
Corrector	ʿUmar al- Azharī, a *mawalad*
Chief-bookbinder	al-Jak al-Suyūfī, an Egyptian
Calligraphers:	
	ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Salāwī, a Turkī
	Muḥammad al-Amīn, a Sudanese (from the west)
	Ibrāhīm Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Dalīl, a (Sudanese?).[4]

1- J. S. Job, 1920, 175; M. S. al-Qaddāl, 1986, 174-5.

2- C. Neufeld, 1899, 211; P. M. Holt, 1958, 192.

3- R. Hill, 1966, Hand-List of Arabic manuscripts and lithographs with accessions since 1963, University of Durham, 3; F. R. Wingate, 1893, 323; S. M. Nūr, 1962, 258; M. I. Abū Salīm, 1970, 58-60.

4- R. Hill, 1966, 3.

The publications of this press included proclamations of the Mahdī, the Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi, the Mahdī's Rātib, prayer book, and various documents[1].

Government Property

After the sack of Khartoum, the Mahdī nationalized all the movable and immovable property of the former regime and its supporters among the traders and Christians. All this property was placed under the administration of the *Bayt al-māl*. The latter rented out the commercial buildings, boats and quays to the merchants against monthly payment. The Khartoum agricultural plots were placed under the management of the Mahdī's uncle, Aḥmad Sharfī who answered directly to the *amīn* of the *Bayt al-māl* .[2] The rest of the captured lands were cultivated by the *Bayt al-māl*.

Provincial Treasuries

Each of the Mahdist provinces had, on a small scale, its own *bayt māl* parallel to that of the central government. It was headed by an *amīn* who was responsible for provisioning the army, gathering *zakāh* and *ʿushūr* and collecting and distributing booty among the warriors. He was responsible to his superior in Omdurman, sending monthly and annual reports about the state of finances in his *ʿamāla*. The provinces did not despatch to the central *Bayt al-māl* all their revenue but only what remained after the local expenses had been met. Each provincial *bayt māl* was divided into a number of departments. Its *amīn* had a fiscal staff to help him in running administrative affairs, consisting of:

1. The deputy of the *amīn of the Bayt al-māl*.
2. The cashier *"amīn al-nuqūd"*.
3. The commissioner of selling and buying.
4. The commissioner of the granary.
5. The commissioner of the one-fifth.
6. The commissioner of the tithe.
7. The judge of the *Bayt al-māl*.
8. Accountants.

1- F. R. Wingate, 1893, 213.

2- *Manshūrāt*, vol. III, 66.

9. Clerks.
10. Workmen[1].

Taxation System

The taxation system was the core of the financial administration of the Mahdiyya. At Jabal Qadīr the Mahdī laid down its framework, fixing the rates of the *zakāh* and *ʿushūr* and appointing a number of *ʿummāl ḥuqūq Allāh* (the fiscal officials). The *Kẖalīfat al-Ṣiddīq* ʿAbdallāhi was appointed as the head of these collectors of the *zakāh* and booty.

> *It is my resolution that all companions and specially the khalīfas should assist the Khalīfa Abdullāhi in gathering the booty and the zakāh for the Bayt al-māl. He shall, according to his knowledge, send out agents for this purpose, and they themselves and their followers shall be assistants. [....] Since duty demands adherence to the oath of allegiance, let all the Brethren levy the tithe and the zakāh and the booty for the Bayt al-māl, and let no-one take anything for himself or his company. Let relief for all the anṣār be from the Bayt al-māl .....*[2]

The Khalīfa's duties were to send tax-collectors to the Mahdist territories. After the Mahdī's death the responsibility for gathering booty and *zakāh* was transferred by him to the *Bayt al-māl*[3]. There at the beginning of each financial year the *amīn* of the *Bayt al-māl* used to send tax-collectors to the Mahdist *ʿamālāt* to cooperate with the local governors in the collection of the *zakāh* and *ʿushūr*. Each district team usually consisted of four officials: a tax-collector, a commander of *jihādiyya*, a cashier, and a clerk. Their duties concentrated on the counting of animals and the assessment of crops. They used to make the tribal shaykhs of the districts

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1- M. S. al-Qaddāl, 1986, 184.

2- *Manshūrāt*, vol. III, 154-6; N. Shuqayr, 1967, 932-34; P. M. Holt, 111.

3- During the revolutionary period the Khalīfa was appointed a head of the gatherers of the booty and the *zakah;* and the two khalīfas, ʿAlī w. Ḥilū and Muḥammad Sharīf, and the Mahdist's followers assisted him in his task.

swear on the Qur'ān in order to get the exact number and quantity of their animals and crops.

Although both the Mahdī and the Khalīfa urged their tax-collectors to treat the tax-payers well, the collecting of *zakāh* and *ʿushūr* did not always go smoothly[1]. Ohrwalder states that:

> *One of the omala [ʿumāl], Wad Ḥamdu Allah, by way of extorting money from a man, bound his hands so tightly behind his back that when released they remained quite powerless. The poor man went to Omdurman to seek redress, and the Khalīfa, on the principle of 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth' ordered that the ʿamil's hands should be cut off, or that he should pay the injured man a sum of money. The man, of course, chose the latter, as cutting off his oppressor's hands could not have done him any practical good; so he received 200 dollars compensation and four slaves.*[2]

After the *zakāh* and *ʿushūr* were collected, the head of the fiscal team sent the money to his provincial treasury.[3] Before the end of the financial year each provincial governor used to send a report to the Khalīfa informing him about the amount of cash and kind collected in his *ʿamāla* and explaining to him the expected expenditures and needs in order to retain the necessary amount for his own disposal[4]. After the approval of the ruler, the *ʿamil* had a right to retain the amount fixed by the ruler. According to the Khalīfa's approval, each provincial commissioner sent his annual report with surplus revenue to the *Bayt al-māl* in Omdurman. When the *Bayt al-māl* received the provincial annual report, it used to send a receipt to the provincial treasury, confirming the payment.

1- M. I. Abū Salīm, 1969/B, *al-Murshid ilā Wathāʾq al- Mahdiyya*, Khartoum, 407, a letter from the Mahdī to tax-collectors in which he urged to them to treat the taxpayers well. In addition he dismissed many tax-collectors because they ill-treated the people.

2- F. R. Wingate, 1893, 329.

3- J. A. Reid, 1924, " Story of a Mahdist Amir " *SNR.*, 80; Bābkir Badrī, 1959, *Tāʾrīkh Ḥayātī*, Cairo, 118-120.

4- Y. Nakash, 1988, "Fiscal and Monetary Systems in the Mahdist Sudan (1881-1898)", *IJAHS*, 369.

Custom Dues

In order to regulate the flow of merchandise and commodities in and out of the country and to divert to the *Bayt al-māl* a portion of the profit of those who engaged in this commerce, the Mahdist authorities established many custom posts on the commercial routes such as Kukarayb on the eastern borders of the Mahdist State, Kassala, al-Qaḍārīf and Berber.[1]
At these posts the *Bayt al-māl* appointed agents to collect the dues. For instance, the merchants who went to Sawākin to buy goods were obliged on their way to Omdurman to pay custom dues at Kukarayb, Berber and finally in Omdurman. Here the *amīn* of the Bayt *al-māl* personally collected the dues and stamped the goods of the merchants for sale in the market[2]. The stamp of the *Bayt al-māl* bore the words *ʿushūr Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm* ("the tithes of the general treasury"). Any unstamped goods found in the market, would be confiscated by the *Bayt al-Māl*.[3]

Method of Accounting and Bookkeeping

The purpose of the Mahdī's ideology was to purify the practices of Muslims and to create an Islamic society in accordance with the Qurʾān and Sunna. The Mahdī thus abolished Turkish rules and local customs which contradicted Islamic laws.

In theory, he swept away the inefficient and corrupt system of the Turks; but, in practice, he reappointed many employees of the previous regime to run the clerical and technical work. Therefore the Mahdist government inherited the methods of accounting and bookkeeping from the Turkiyya. Furthermore a great number of officials who had worked under the Turco-Egyptian administration drew on their former skills in the Mahdist departments, mainly, the *Bayt al-māl* and its provincial branches. There they formed the nucleus of the financial administration. Some of them held high positions in these institutions. For instance, al-ʿAwaḍ al-Mardī held the commissionership of the *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm* twice.

Here we shall discuss the method of accounting and bookkeeping of the Mahdiyya with special reference to the statements of accounts of the *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm* in 1314-15. Although these statements of accounts do not give

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1- M. S. al-Qaddāl, 1986, 184.

a full year's accounts, they reflect the general features of the accounts system which was applied by the Mahdists to the state revenue and expenditures.

In reality, the budgetary system of the Mahdist State inherited from the former regime was simple. There was no forward budgeting or costing in the accepted sense of these terms, nor was there any control of expenditure against estimates, but merely, a monthly and annual summarizing of revenue and expenditure.

It appears these monthly and annual summarizes of revenue and expenditure passed through different stages, starting from the districts and going up to the *Bayt al-māl* in Omdurman: Each district had its own fiscal team which was responsible for collecting the *zakāh* and *'ushūr*. The head of this fiscal team used to issue a receipt to each taxpayer, confirming his payment. The copies were usually sent to the *Bayt al-māl* with the annual report. In addition he summarized the daily and weekly accounts in a monthly report for his provincial treasury through the district *'āmil*. Furthermore the provincial treasury summarized these monthly accounts in an annual report with the surplus revenue for the *Bayt al-māl*. There these annual reports were checked by the *amīn* of the *Bayt māl* and his subordinates. Thereafter, a receipt was sent to the provincial treasury, confirming the payment.

In conclusion, we can say that the fiscal system of the Mahdist state was based on an Islamic model in its main features, fiscal institutions i.e. the *Bayt al-māl*, revenue (*zakāh* and booty), expenditures. On the other hand, a great number of the officials of the previous regime made up the nucleus of clerical staff of the *Bayt al-māl*, and they practised what they already knew in the field of administration, book-keeping and accounts. As a matter of fact the statements of accounts in their main features are similar to the Turkish budgetary system.

2- C. Rosignoli, 1967, "Omdurman in the Mahdiyya", ed. and trans., F. R., *SNR.*, XLVII, 61

3- F. R. Wingate, 1891, 379.

CHAPTER FIVE

Revenue and Expenditure

Revenue

The main sources of the Mahdist State revenue were *ghanīma* (booty), *zakāh*, *ʿushūr* (tithes) on imported and exported goods, rents of the government property, profits from the exchange of money, contributions of merchants, administrative fines and confiscations. The theme of this chapter is a discussion of all of these sources of revenue with special reference to the statements of accounts of the *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm* in Omdurman in 1314-15/1896-97.[1]

Ghanīma (booty of war)

The *ghanīma* included weapons, prisoners of war, and all movable possessions, kind and cash which were captured on the battlefield by the Mahdists from their enemies. After the battle of Shaykān (5 Nov. 1883) the Mahdī issued many proclamations urging his followers to hand over the booty to the *Bayt al-Māl.* Then the latter sorted out the weapons, horses, and prisoners of war as the property of the government, and the rest of the booty was divided into five parts: one fifth was put a side for the Mahdī, and four-fifths were distributed among the warriors.[2]
After the capture of Khartoum, this policy was changed; all booty was now placed in the *Bayt al-Māl;* and the warriors were classified into two groups: regular and irregular soldiers for whom the *jihād* was not the main concern:

> *..... those who dedicate themselves only to God, who have no occupation but the jihād, and who were not traders or farmers [will deposit the booty] in the Bayt al-Māl and [the latter] will allocate from it to them little by little [.....] but if they have an occupation and are gathered for the jihād only for a fixed period*

1- These statements of accounts cover the period from *Shawwāl* 1314 (last 12 days) to *Rajab* 1315 (10 months).

2- A. al-Mahdī, 1965, *Jihād fī Sabīl Allāhi,* ed., A. M. Aḥmad, Khartoum, 71; M. I. Abū Salīm, 1969, 252-5.

> *at the end of which they will return back to their occupation, a fifth will be set aside and the rest [the four fifths] is distributed among them....*[1]

Its seems that the booty became a part of the government property and the regular warriors had no right to demand their Islamic share (four-fifths). But the *Bayt al-Māl* paid them according to their need. This decision did not pass smoothly but faced considerable opposition among the *Ansār* on the grounds that it was in contradiction to Islamic precedents[2]. Some of them said that the Mahdī was a *mujaddid* (a renewer of the Muslim Faith). The Mahdī then issued a proclamation reproaching them and revealing the reason for this decision:

> *..... you have deserted my deputies and assistants and continued to accuse me by your charges. You insult my friends and assistants and injure me through them, although you heard that my companions are like the companions of the Apostle of God. [....]. You assert that I am [no more than] a mujaddid and had you really believed in my Mahdiship, you would not thus have accused me.....*

Later, the Khalīfa's period witnessed a relaxation of the war effort; but booty was still one of the important sources of the state revenue, because the Khalīfa pursued an aggressive policy against his political opponents, confiscating their property as booty.[3] For instance, in 1315/1897 the Khalīfa dispatched Maḥmūd Aḥmad's army to al-Matamma to meet the Anglo-Egyptian troops who were coming to reconquer the Sudan in the name of the Khedive. There the inhabitants, the Jaʿaliyyūn, refused to evacuate their homeland for the Mahdist army. Consequently, Maḥmūd Aḥmad declared the *jihād* against them. Many were killed, and their property was confiscated as booty. For this reason

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1- M. I. Abū Salīm, 1969, 264.

2- According to Islamic precedent four-fifths of the booty are to be divided among the troops who have been present at the battle, whether they have fought in it or not and the remaining one-fifth belongs to Allah for the poor people and is appropriated by the head of the state (for further details see p. 110).

3- Y. Nakash. 1988, 368.

the revenue of the booty at the *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm* increased in that year namely, in *Rabīʿ I, Rabīʿ II,* and *Jumādā I* (see below).

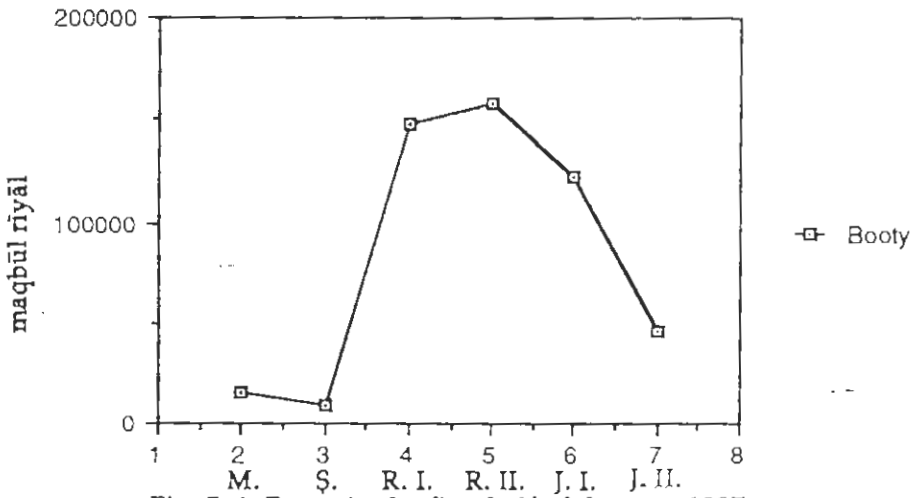

Fig. 5. 1. Booty in the first half of the year 1897

Zakāh

Zakāh is the alms tax, one of the principal obligations of Islam. By law it means a tax which is levied on definite types of property and distributed to eight categories of persons[1].

During the revolutionary stage the Mahdī's propaganda concentrated mainly on the oppression of the Turco-Egyptian administration, especially the heavy taxes and taxation system. This attitude found a considerable response among the commoners, who had suffered from the abuses and injustices of the Turks:

> ..... *The Turks used to drag your men in chains and capture your women and children. They are neither kind to your children nor do they respect your old people [....]. They changed the sharīʿa of Our Lord Muḥammad and abused the religion of God and levied jizya [poll-tax on non-Muslims in Muslims lands] on you...*[2]

On the one hand, this propaganda was very effective in encouraging the Sudanese to revolt against the Turks. On the other hand, it made them

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1- H. A. R. Gibb, & J. H. Kramers, 1974, *A Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden, 654.

2- F. R. Wingate, 1968, 40-2.

ready to accept the Islamic taxes which were imposed by the Mahdī later on, in particularly the *zakāh*. The Mahdī issued many proclamations to the *Anṣār* explaining that the *zakāh* was different from the illegal taxes which were imposed by the Turks. It was a religious duty on each Muslim who believed in God and the Mahdiship to purify his property. However, its rates were fixed in accordance with the Qurʾān and Sunna and *ʿummāl ḥuqūq Allāh* (the *zakāh* collectors) were sent to districts to collect them from the people.

After the capture of Khartoum it became one of the important and stable sources of revenue, because the movement changed from the revolutionary stage to the stage of reconstruction, in which the government took control over most parts of the Sudan. Now the *zakāh* was the main source of revenue, consisting of various types. Here they will be discussed in accordance with the Mahdī's proclamation which was issued on 25 *Ṣafar* 1302/1 December 1884 to the Jaʿaliyyīn who were settled at al-Qaḍārif.[1]

(a) *Zakāh al-anʿām* (*zakāh* on animals)

In this proclamation the Mahdī fixed the rate of the *zakāh* on the certain kinds of animals, according to Islamic Law:

Zakāh on camels

Those who own, from 5 to 10 camels, to pay,	one sheep as *zakāh*.
from 10 to 15 camels, to pay,	two sheep.
from 15 to 20 camels, to pay,	three sheep.
from 20 to 25 camels, to pay,	four sheep.
from 25 to 35 camels, to pay,	one *bint mukhkhāḍ* (less than one year old) camel.
from 36 to 45 camels, to pay,	one *bint labīn* (one year old) camel
from 45 to 60 camels, to pay,	one *ḥiqqa* (2 to 3 years) camel.
from 60 to 75 camels, to pay,	one *jadʿa* (4 to 5 years) camel.
from 75 to 120 camels, to pay,	two *ḥiqqa*.

1-*Manshūrāt*, vol. III, 236-239.

On more than 120, on each forty; to pay one *bint labūn*, and on each fifty to pay one *ḥiqqa*.

Zakāh on goats and sheep

From 40 to 120 sheep or goats	one sheep or goat (to be paid as *zakāh*).
From 120 to 200 sheep or goats	two sheep or goats.
From 201 to 300 sheep or goats	three sheep or goats.

On more than 400 sheep or goats on each 100 one sheep or goat.

Zakāh on cattle

From 30 to 40	one calf not yet weaned (*tabʿi*).[1]
From 40 to 50	one calf one or two years old (*thānī*)
From 50 to 60	one calf four years old (*rabʿa*)
From 60 to 70	two *tabʿi*
From 70 to 80	one tabʿi and one *thānī*
From 80 to 90	two *thānī*

And so on for every 30 cattle one *tabʿa*, for every 40 one *thānī*.[2]

(b) *Zakāh al-ḥubūb* (*zakāh* on the produce of land)

The term of *ʿushr* is not found in the Qurʾān, but has been frequently used by Muslim jurists. They do not draw any strict line between *zakāh* and *ʿushr*[3]. The Mahdists treated *ʿushr* as *zakāh* of the produce of land and they called it *zakāh al-ḥubūb* or *al-ʿushūr* (the tithes). This term also was applied to the dues on imported and exported goods. During the Mahdiyya the *niṣāb* (minimum amount of payment) of the produce of land was sixty *ṣāʿ* or *ūsiq* (21/2 *ardabbs*)[4]. Its assessment on the main Nile was different from that of Turco-Egyptian times. It was not based on the number of water-

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1- At this point the Mahdi's proclamation ends. I have added the rest of the information from al-Māwardī, 1982, 114-15.

2- A. I. Qureshī, 1978, *Fiscal System of Islam*, Islamabad, 18-19.

3- C. E. Layall, 1921, " The right, dues, and customs prevailing among the Arab tribes in the White Nile province", *SNR*. IV, 199-200.

4- 1 *ṣāʿ* = 8 litre (approximately).

wheels and the land's surface as the Turks' did, but on the productivity relationship among the farmers:

1. The owner who cultivated his land alone and at his own expense was responsible for paying the *ʿushr* (the tithe of his produce) if his produce reached the minimum amount of the payment (*al-niṣāb*).
2. The owners of land and water-wheels who cultivated their land together were obliged to pay the *ʿushr* of their produce after the harvest from the whole production.
3. The owners who cultivated their land, each at his own expense, were obliged to pay the *ʿushr* according to the individual production[1].

Therefore the *Bayt al-Māl* in Dongola and Berber used to send a number of *ʿummāl ḥuqūq Alāh* to assess and levy the land tax. There, they based their assessments on the average production of three *sāqiyas* (land).[2] Then they took one-tenth from the naturally-watered produce (rain or flood) and one-twentieth from the artificially-watered produce (*sāqiya or shādūf*).[3]

(c) *Zakāh al-fiṭr* (zakāh of the breaking off the fast)

This *zakāh* is an obligatory gift of provisions at the end of *Ramaḍān* month. According to the Mālikī doctrine it is obligatory and has to be given by every free Muslim for himself and all persons whom he is legally responsible to support. It is paid annually at the end of *Ramaḍān*. A man is exempted only if he does not possess more than the bare necessities of life for himself and his family. During the Mahdist state, its rate was 2 piastres on each person, as Bābkir Badrī said in 1309 (in this year he was a tax-collector in the Gezira district).[4]

1- M. I. Abū Salīm, 1970, 18-9.

2- *Sāqiya* means water-wheel and land irrigated by a *sāqiya*.

3- Instruments which were used for irrigation on the bank of the Nile and which were also erected on wells (*matara*, pl. *matarāt*).

4- B. Badrī, 1959, i, 118.

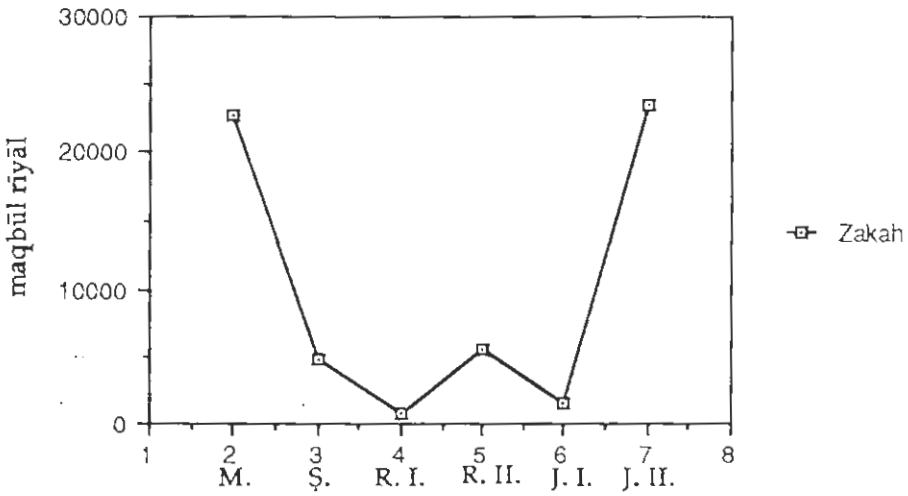

Fig. 5. 2. Zakāh in the first half of the year 1897

Goods tax[1]

After the establishment of the Mahdist government, the *Bayt al-māl* increased governmental control over exported and imported merchandise. During the period of the *amīn* of the *Bayt al-Māl,* Ibrāhīm ʿAdlān (1886-1890) the roads from Berber to Sawākin and from Berber to Kūruskū were reopened. Later on, his successor al-Nūr al-Jirayfāwī established the *ʿushr* (tithe of the imported and exported goods) to increase the state revenue.[2] The *ʿushr* was collected in either money or kind and more than once along the road; a tenth in Kukarayb (on the road between Sawākin and Berber), another tenth in Berber and a third tenth in Omdurman, in addition to the twenty piastres which were taken in Sawākin by the Egyptian Government[3] on each camel entering or leaving.[4]

On arrival in Omdurman, all goods had to be stamped at the *Bayt al-Māl* to be valid for sale. Any goods which did not bear the stamp of the *Bayt al-Māl* and, were found in the market, would be confiscated.

In spite of these restrictions, the exorbitant taxes led the merchants to smuggle their goods, using false stamps. The following event emphasizes that:

1- The author of this study has grouped a third of gum, tithes of the Sudanese goods and dues of weighing in one group under the title of "goods tax"

2- F. R. Wingate, 1893, 378.

3- Sawākin was under Egyptian control.

4- B. Badrī, 1959, vol. i, 150.

> *.... one day my [Bābikr Badrī] close friend (now dead) Ibrāhīm Ḥumūdī al-Fadlī al-Ḥadarī came and told me that Yūsuf Sulaymān [the inspector of goods at the Bayt al-Māl] had put a guard on his house because he was suspected of having a counterfeit seal used for imported goods in imitation of the Bayt al-Māl seal used for imported goods and of employing it to stamp merchants' goods at a half of what the customs would have charged. He admitted that as a matter of fact the charge was true; but if it was proved against him, he said, he would without doubt be deported to al-Rajāfı, and killed there, or have a hand and foot cut off and he begged me to save him....*[2]

The exported goods, ivory and gum, were declared to be the monopoly of the *Bayt al-Māl*. They were purchased from the local merchants and resold at high prices to exporting merchants. Then the purchasers generally received permission from the *Bayt al-Māl* to export their goods to Egypt. But this permission did not exempt them from the taxes at the commercial posts. They paid a *riyāl* for each hundred weight *"qinṭār"* in Berber and a further one in Sawākin.[3]

The owners of gum which was not bought from the *Bayt al-Māl* were obliged to pay the third of their goods in kind or cash in Omdurman, a sixth in Berber and twelfth in Kukarayb.[4] The third of gum which was paid in Omdurman became a major part of the *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm* revenue (see below).

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1. Al-Rajāf was a Mahdist garrison post on the upper white Nile, and was also used as a place of banishment.

2. B. Badrī, 1966, *The Memories of Bābikr Badrī*, eds.,Y. Badrī & G. scott., 190.

3. R. Slatin, 1896, 551-2.

4. B. Badrī 1966, 190.

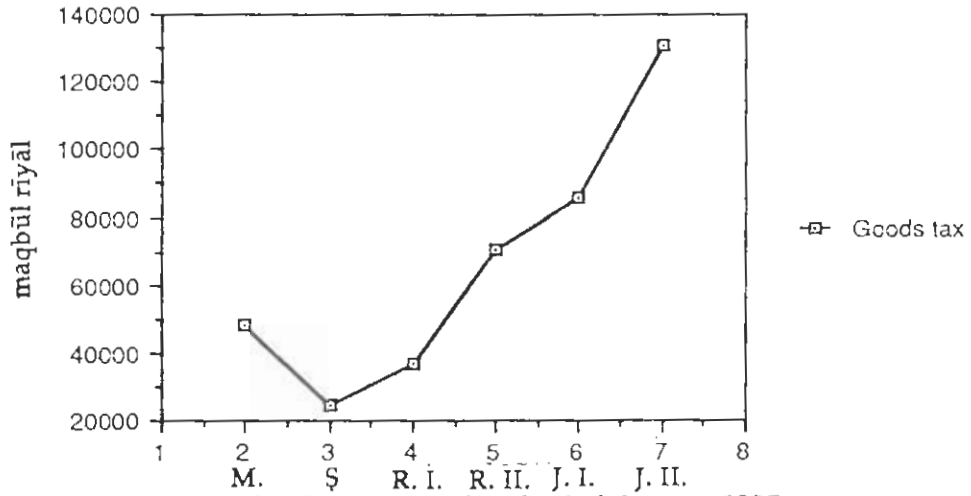

Fig. 5. 3. Goods tax in the first half of the year 1897

Tabarūᶜāt (Contributions)

The contributions of the merchants were one of the major sources of the State revenues. They were collected from the merchants by the agent of the market at the *Bayt al-Māl* as a loan for the government. The merchants could not refuse this request[1]. At the *Bayt al-Māl* these loans were registered as contributions and were not refunded. The following diagram shows the amount of these contributions at the first half of the year 1315/1897 at the *Bayt Māl al-ᶜUmūm* in Omdurman:

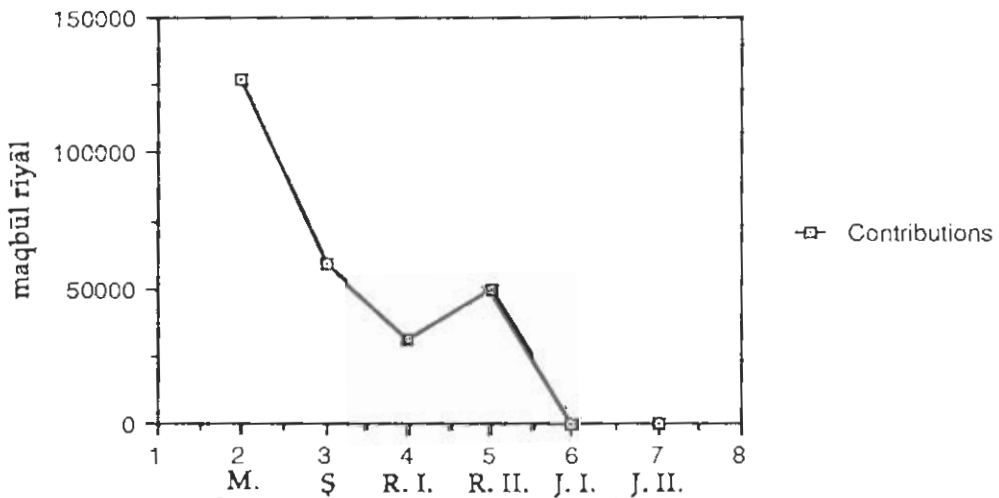

Fig. 5. 4. Contributions in the first half of the year 1897

[1]- C. Rosignoli 1967, 36-37.

Fines and Confiscations

In accordance with Mahdist ideology, from the beginning the Mahdī prohibited drinking wine and smoking tobacco. Therefore he imposed strict punishments upon the drinkers of wine and smokers of tobacco, such as flogging (80 lashes), fines, and confiscation of property.[1] These punishments were carried out on the spot. Thus the confiscated property and fines formed a permanent element of the state revenue. The confiscations extended to the political opponents of the Khalīfa's Government. For instance, in 1315/1897 Ilyās Umm Birayr was accused of having secret relations with Egypt. He then was arrested and his property was confiscated. The value of property confiscated from him reached about 141377 *Maqbūl riyāls* or more (see the statement of accounts at the *Bayt Māl ʿUmūm* in 1315).

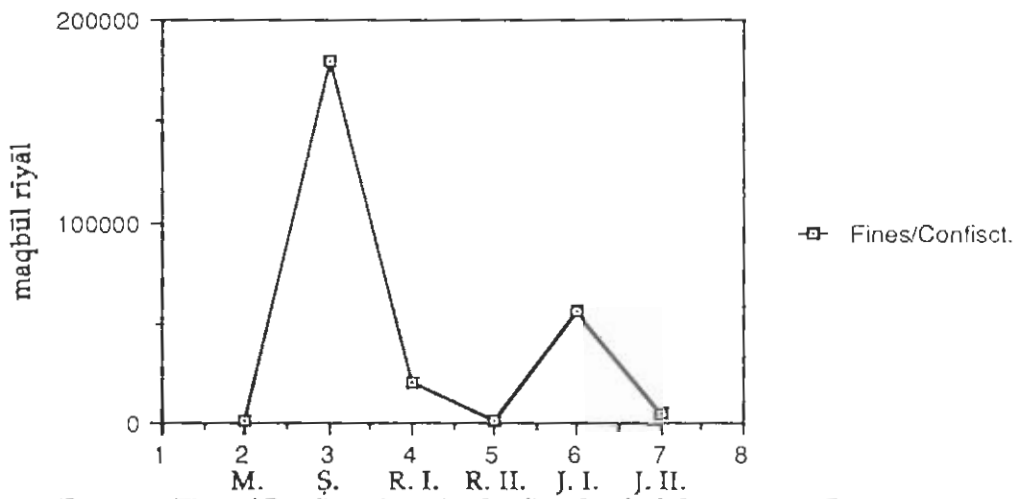

Fig. 5. 5. Fines/Confiscations in the first half of the year 1897

Rents

After the overthrow of the Turco-Egyptian administration in 1885, the Mahdī nationalized all shops, mills, oil presses, and agencies of the former regime and its supporters in Khartoum. Then all these were rented out at high prices to the merchants.

Now Omdurman became the capital of the Mahdist State instead of Khartoum, the capital of the previous regime. Here the market was organized by the Mahdist authorities and divided into several sections

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1- *Manshūrāt*, vol. III, 30-31.

according to the number of persons who were involved in the specific trade, such as the section of old women in which they sold oil, grease, beans, vegetables, *dhura*, milk, etc. Each section included a number of huts or sheds, built by merchants in order to protect themselves and their goods from the sun. The holders of these sheds were obliged to pay a monthly rent to the *Bayt al-Māl*. This rent varied according to the sheds' area and the income of the merchants.[1]

Besides these the Mahdī captured all quays and ferryboats along the River Nile and rented them out in a public auction for the merchants against a monthly rent which was paid to the *Bayt al-Māl*. The charge for transportation across the Nile was announced in a proclamation:

"..... on each ardabb 5 piastres, on each camel 3 piastres, on each camel-load 3 piastres, on each donkey one piastre and on each person 1/2 piastre...."

For instance in 1891 the return from the rented quays was 84000 *riyāls*:

Name of quay	Value in *riyāl*
Dongola	03000
Marawī Island	11000
Berber	10000
From Tūtī to Ḥajar al-Asal	10000
al-Muqrān [the confluence of the two Niles]	10000
From Omdurman to al-Diwaym	05000
From Madanī to Fāzūghlī	20000
From al-Diwaym to Fashoda	15000
Total	84000.[2]

Tab. 5.1. income of quays

The following diagram reveals the return on the rented property of the government at the *Bayt Māl ʿUmūm* in the first half of the year 1315/1897.

1- C. Rosignoli 1967, *SNR*, vol. XLVIII, 36-37.

2- M. I. Abū Salīm (private papers).

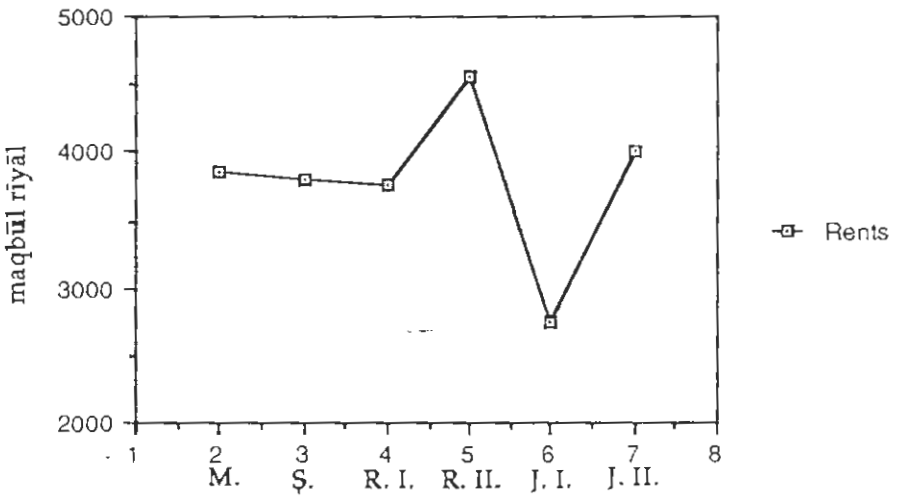

Fig. 5. 6. Rents in the first half of the year 1897

Fayʾ (Domain-lands)[1]

The nationalization policy of the Mahdī did not stop at the commercial buildings of the former regime and its supporters but extended to include the land of the Turks and Christians in Khartoum, Ḥalfaya, Berber and Dongola as *fayʾ*. All these lands were captured by the Mahdists and placed under the supervision of the *Bayt al-Māl*.[2] During the Khalīfa's period these lands were the backbone of the *Bayt Māl al-Khums* (the Treasury of the Fifth) revenue. It appears that for this reason some historians call *bayt māl al-khums* the treasury of the fifth and domainland.

Exchange profits

The Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi and his fiscal adviser al-Nūr al-Jirayfāwī adopted a new monetary policy which aimed at increasing the state income by regulating the production of coins. Thus al-Nūr al-Jirayfāwī reduced the quantity of silver in the coinage (for further details see below, Chapter Six). This debasement created a difference between the official value of foreign currencies and the Mahdist ones. Therefore the *amīn* of the *Bayt al-Māl* exchanged a large quantity of foreign currencies which had high value in the markets by local currencies. The profit from the exchange increased the

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1- *Fayʾ*, means all lands taken without fighting from the unbelievers in the Mahdiyya.

2- *Manshūrāt*, vol. III, 69.

revenue of the Mahdist State. For instance, in the half of the year 1315 the profit from the exchange of money was about 61188 *maqbūl riyāls*.[1]

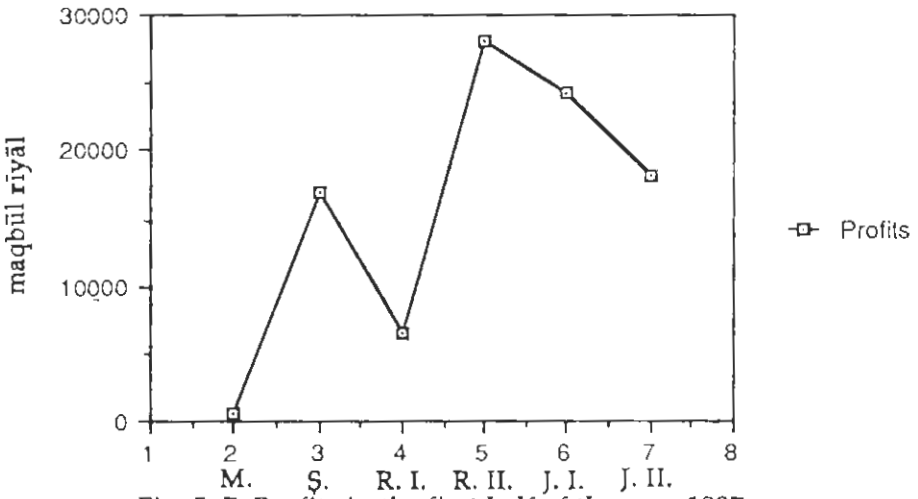

Fig. 5. 7. Profits in the first half of the year 1897

Expenditure

The expenditures of the Mahdist State were mainly concentrated on financing military activities, provisions for soldiers, payment of wages to employees, and the donation of *zakāh* to poor people.

Military Expenditures

The band of the *Anṣār* who emigrated to Jabal Qadīr was by the nature of its situation consuming community, dependent for its continued existence on what it could take from its enemies. During the first period of the revolution the *Anṣār* seized booty for their individual benefit.[2] When the Mahdī saw that his followers were engaging in collecting booty for their individual benefit, he issued a proclamation after the Shaykān battle, on 5 *Muḥarram* 1301/ 6 November 1883, reproaching them for disobeying his orders in the following terms:

1- *Qūshlī* was an Austrian dollar; and *maqbūl* was a Mahdist coin.

2- P. M. Holt, 1958, 110.

> ..... *you have given me your covenant and promises of obedience to my command [.....] I am pleased with no-one who is fraudulent in anything of the booty. Let him be sincere to God and His Apostle and bring it to us at the place where it is due, so that the Fifth may be taken from it and the rest be divided among you in accordance with the commandment of God and His Apostle [.....] we know in this expedition there was great wealth and innumerable possessions, all of which have fallen into your hands.....*[1]

During the revolutionary stage booty was the only source of revenue for the *Bayt al-Māl*. The expenditures were confined mainly to the transportation of forces and supplies for various expeditions which were despatched to the other parts of the Sudan to drive out the Turks.

Now the Mahdī issued a proclamation, explaining the distribution of the four-fifths of booty among the warriors and urging them to deliver all of it to the *Bayt al-Māl*. In this proclamation he laid a new basis for the distribution of booty. The warriors were divided into two classes: regular, and irregular soldiers (see above). This proclamation became a main basis for the distribution of booty in the centre and the *ʿamālāt*.

During the Khalīfa's period the expenditure of the *Bayt al-Māl* concentrated on financing military activities on the northern and eastern boundaries of the state, and on the payment of wages for the regular soldiers. During the last five years of the Mahdiyya the Khalīfa established three junior treasuries for military expenditures, *Bayt Māl al-Mulāzimīn* (the bodyguard treasury), *Bayt Māl warshat al-Ḥarbiyya wa 'l- Tarasāna* (the treasury of the dockyard and the arsenal) and *Bayt Māl al-Jihādiyya* (the treasury of the Jihādiyya) (for further details see above, Chapter Three).
Although these treasuries were established for this purpose, the military expenditure was still the major part of the *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm* expenditures.

Administrative Expenditure

The bulk of the expenditure of the *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm* was the salaries of the employees. They were low compared with the Turkish salaries. For

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1- M. I. Abū Salīm, 1969, 255.

instance, the monthly payment for the president of the Appeal Court in the Turkiyya was about 5,000 piastres, whereas the monthly salary of the *Qāḍī al-Islām* (the judge of Islam) during the Mahdiyya was about 50 *riyals Maqbūl* (40 piastres according to the market exchange rate of the *Maqbūl riyāl*).[1] The following list is the monthly payments to some Mahdist employees (in *Maqbūl riyāl)* :

The first class (the holders of the high posts)

	riyāl
1. The khalīfa ʿAlī w. Ḥilū	300
2. The khalīfa Muḥammad Sharīf	300
3. The *Qāḍī al-Islām*----------	50
4. The Amīn of the *Bayt al-Māl*	50
6. *wakīl qāḍī al-īslām*	40
7. Senior *qādī*	20

The second class (workers/clerks)

1. The head of the workers --------	25
2. Clerk----------	8
3. Worker----------	7

The third class (the holders of the military posts)		ardabb/grain
1. *rāʾs miʿa* (the head of a hundred)	5	1
2. *muqaddam*- (senior officer)	1	1/3
3. *mulāzim*- (lieutenant)	1/2	1/4
4. *jihādī* (regular soldier)	1/2	1/8
5. *anṣārī* (irregular soldier)--	1/4	000. [2]

Table 5. 2.

Besides the expenditures for military purposes and the salaries of the employees, the *Bayt al-Māl* paid considerable sums of money for such social

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1- C. Stewart, 1883,12; *The statements of accounts of the Bayt māl.*

2- Ḥusayn Sīd Aḥmad al-Muftī ,1959, 133; M. S. al-Qaddāl, 1986, 176; *Bayt al-Māl*; these salaries were paid in *maqbūl rīyāl* and grain.

services as allowances for the Mahdī's family, poor people, lodges, festival uniforms and so on.

The following diagram gives a clear picture of the expenditures in the first half of the year 1315/1897 at the *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm* .[1]

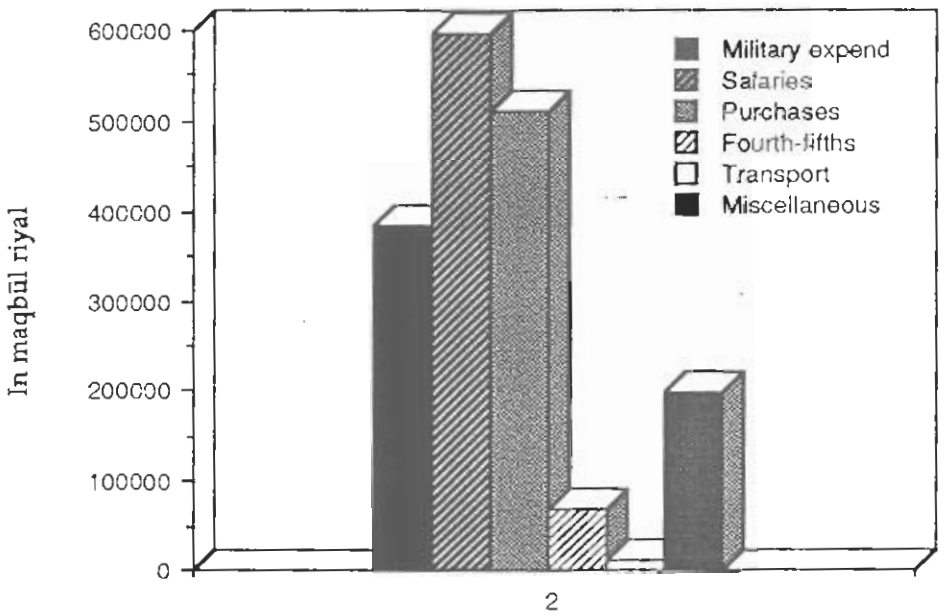

Fig. 5. 8. Total expenditure in the first half of the 1315/1897

1- Col. 1: Military expenditures; Col. 2: The salaries of the employees of the central departments (the *Bayt al-Māl;* the lithographic press; arsenal; law-courts; post) and the expenses of these departments; Col. 3: Purchases of the grains and others needs; Col. 4: Four-fifth of the booty which was distributed among the warriors and others; Col. 5: Transport of soldiers and grains; Col. 6: Miscellaneous (the Khalīfa's family, the Mahdī's widows, the public house of guests, uniforms for public festivals, poor people etc.).

In the first part of this chapter I discussed the sources of revenue and the funds of expenditure of the Mahdist state with special reference to the statements of accounts of the *Bayt al-māl*. In the following section, I am going to present the statement of accounts of *Muḥarram* 1315/June 1897 in order to give the reader a general idea of the budgetary system of the Mahdist state and the state revenue and expenditure in detail.

Commentaries: Statements of Accounts

Although the statements of accounts of the *Bayt Māl al-ʿUmūm* in 1314-1315 do not give an annual statement for the whole country, they reflect a profile of the accounting procedure, and the sources of the state revenue and expenditure.

These statements of accounts were written in Arabic, on pages of heavy paper, the size of each being about 44x38 cm. The pages are generally divided into two parts: the right side for the figures expressed in cash and the left side for the items of revenue or expenditure. The former part consists of three columns, each of which has two parts, the right one for the small coins (piastres and smaller denominations) and the left one for the big coins (the *riyāl* and larger denominations). The first column on the right is for the balance brought forward from the previous month, for instance the balance of *Muḥarram* is to be found in the statement of *Ṣafar*, and for the final statement. The middle column is for the figures of the major items of revenue or expenditure. The left column includes the figures of the minor items of the revenue or expenditure.

Each statement of accounts consists of two parts: the first part includes the revenue and the balance of cash of the previous month which was carried over, and the second part includes the expenditure and the surplus of the revenue over the expenditure. The first page of the revenue is headed by the following formula which are completed on the first page of the expenditure:

"In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Praise be to God, the lord, the Beneficent. And blessing" ... [completion on the first page of the expenditure]... be upon Our Lord Muḥammad and his family, with peace. Amen.

"A statement of accounts concerning assets and liabilities and balance of cash at the Bayt Māl al-Muslimīn.... [completion on the first page of the

expenditure]...*at al-Buqʿat al-Ṭāhirat [i.e, Omdurman] in the month of ..... the year..... and upon God is the best of ends.*

The last page of revenue is concluded by the following formula:
In explaining manner, the assets and the balance of cash equal the liabilities [the value] *only.*

The last page of expenditure is ended by the signature of the commissioner of the *bayt al-māl,* Ibrāhīm Ramaḍān, and his seal.

Numerical Abbreviations and terms

In these statements there are many numerical abbreviations. Their meanings are as follows:

۹	meaning	1/8.
۷	meaning	1/4
۳۷	meaning	3/8.
⊥	meaning	1/2.
۴	meaning	3/4.
۹۴	meaning	7/8

In these statements of accounts the principal officials were given different titles in order to distinguish between their ranks. The members of the ruling class were given the title of "our lord"; and the title of "our lord, the honoured" was applied to the provincial governors and the senior officers of the army to distinguish the latter from the junior officers who were given the title of "the honoured"; whereas the title "the beloved" was given for the civil servants. For instance, our lord, *khalīfat* al-Fārrūq and *khalīfat* al-Ṣiddīq; our lord, the honoured Maḥmūd Aḥmad, the governor of Darfur and Kordofan, Ibrāhīm Aḥmad, senior officer and Muḥammad al-Zākī ʿUthmān, the governor of Berber province; the honoured Abā Sām, junior officer, and the beloved Muḥammad Aḥmad, the cashier of the *bayt al-māl,* and Muḥammad al-Ḥajj Sulaymān, the commissioner of the purchases.

Besides these titles, there is a number of special terms. Here I am going to explain the meaning of the important ones. These are "*maḥal al-lizūm*" which denoted the Khalīfa's house, "*al-ḥaram al-sharīf or ḥaram al-Mahdī*" for the Mahdī's widows, "*al-Aḥal*" for the Taʿāīsha people, "*al-Takkiyya*" for the house of public guests, "*al-Buqʿat al-Tāhirat*" for the

capital of the Mahdist state, Omdurman and *"Sayīd al-Wijūd"* for the Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi.

Monetary Units

The monetary units used in these statements are a *maqbūl riyāl* and *abū kibs riyāl* (local coin); *majīdī riyāl* (Turkish dollar); *qūshlī riyāl* (Maria Theresa dollar). In market terms the value of these coins varied widely. Thus the *qūshlī riyāl* was valued at 20 piastres; the *majīdī riyāl* at 16 piastres, although its official value was 20 piastres; whereas the official currency, the *maqbūl riyāl* fell to a value of only 1.25 piastres although its official value was 20 piastres.

[The statement of accounts of *Muḥarram* 1315: Revenue]

In the name of God, the most compassionate, the merciful, be to God the Lord the Beneficent. And blessing...
A statement of accounts about assets and liabilities and balance of cash at the ***Bayt Māl al-Muslimīn***...

			assets	
			R.	Pt.
	R.	Pt.		
The balance [until the end] of the month of al-Ḥijja the year 1314:				
qūshlī	2 3/4	2		
maqbūl	691/8	3/8	717/8	2 3/8

Income of the month of Muḥarram year 1315:
Contributions

		R.	Pt.
Assistance to the military detachments, all of them are *qūshlī*		4600	00
Assistance to the governmental departments, *qūshlī*		200	00
Oil-presses:			
qūshlī	5		
maqbūl	5302	5307	00
Sesame, all of them are *maqbūl*		262	00

[Completion of the first page. Assets]

Gum:

qūshlī	3				
maqbūl	591/2	621/2	00		
Fodder, all of them are *maqbūl*		827	00		
		112581/2	00		
		cash statement			
qūshlī		4808	00		
maqbūl		645001/2	00	112581/2	00

Price of goods [received from the tax] of a third of gum:

qūshlī		2719	00		
maqbūl		161893/4	00	189083/4	00

Zakāh and Fiṭr:

qūshlī		5631/4	00		
maqbūl		8633	00	91961/4	00

Price of cows:

From a portion of the fourth-fifths [of the booty]

qūshlī	3761/2				
maqbūl	1831	22071/2	00		

From the return of the west[1]:

qūshlī	1591/2				
maqbūl	28	187 1/2	00		
		2395	00		
		cash statement			
qūshlī		536	00		
maqbūl		1859	00	2395	00

Tithes of Sudanese goods:

Coffee, all of them are maqbūl		84	00		
Ostrich feathers:					
qūshlī	10				
maqbūl	50	60	00		
		144	00		

---

[1]- The west, meat the western Sudan, the *ʿamālat* al-Gharb. During the Mahdist state the provincial treasuries were obliged to send the surplus of the revenue over their expenditure annually to the *Bayt al-māl* in Omdurman. The sum mentioned above was the share of the *ʿamālat* al-Gharb.

[Completion of the first page. Assets]

	cash statement		
qūshlī	10	00	
maqbūl	134	00	144 00
			41902 1/2 00

[The second page. Assets]

					R.	Pt.
Carried forward					71 7/8	2 3/8
Continuation of the income:						
Carried forward				41902 1/2 00		
Booty of Berber: price of wood and ebony, all of it is *maqbūl*				41 00		
A part from the soap factory's rent in *maqbūl*				7071 00		
Hire of the shops, maqbūl				3852 1/2 00		
Confiscations:						
Banī Ḥalba, price of cows, all of it is *qūshlī*		19 00				
People of Ḥamdān Bushāra, *maqbūl*		139 00				
[Fines on the drinkers of] wine and [the smokers of] tobacco		44 1/2 00				
		202 1/2 00				
		cash statement				
	qūshlī	63 1/2 00				
	maqbūl	139 00		202 1/2 00		
Value of exchanged qūshlī to maqbūl for necessary expenses of the governmental departments:						
The original in *qūshlī*		20 00				
[Its value in] *maqbūl*		500 00		520 00		
Concerning the return from Muḥammad al-Ḥajj Sulaymān[1] included in what was formerly paid to him for purchasing the grain:						
	qūshlī	44 00				
	maqbūl	15 00		59 00		
Value of articles returned from the work, all of it is	*maqbūl*			38 00		
Price of stray [animals or slaves]	*maqbūl*			282 00		
				53968 1/2 00		
				cash statement		
	qūshlī			8743 3/4 00		

[1]- Muḥammad al-Ḥajj Sulaymān was a commissioner of purchases at the *bayt al-māl*.

[Completion of the second page. Assets]

maqbūl	45224 3/4 00	53968 1/2 00
		54040 3/8 2 3/8
		cash statement
maqbūl		8746 1/2 2
qūshlī		45293 7/8 3/8
		54040 3/8 2 3/8

[The seventh page. statement]

[Income] 540403/8 23/8

[Expenditure] 540403/8 23/8

In the explaining manner [above], this statement of accounts is written, concerning the assets and liabilities and the balance of cash which are incoming at the *Bayt Māl al-muslimīn* at the Pure Place [i.e. Omdurman] in the month of Muḥarram the year 1315 [June 1897], and the asset equal the value of liability.

[Expenditure]

.... Be upon Our Lord Muḥammad and his family, with peace.
.... Thereafter: at the Pure Place [i.e. Omdurman] in the month of Muḥarram at the beginning of the year 1315 [June 1897]. And upon God is the best of ends. Amen.

				liabilities R.	Pt.
Concerning outgoing expenditure:			R.	Pt.	
Expenses of al-Kāra[1]					
Allocated to our lord the honoured Ibrāhīm Aḥmad[2]:					
The salary in *maqbūl*		75			
Hire of a boat for bringing grain in *maqbūl*		807	882 00		
Jihādiyya:					
	qūshlī	36			
	maqbūl	3963 1/2	3999 1/2 00		
For a dinner for a Jihādī's wife, *qūshlī*			10 00		
Price of shackles in maqbūl			105 00		
Expenses of stables of the horses:					
	qūshlī	16			
	maqbūl	1301/4	1461/4 00		
			5142 3/4 00		
			cash statement		
	qūshlī		62 00		
	maqbūl		5080 3/4 00	5142 3/4 00	

Expenses of our lord, the honoured Maḥmūd Aḥmad[3]:

1- *al-Kāra* was a military camp for the *Jihādiyya*.

2- Ibrāhīm Aḥmad was a Mahdist *amīr*, and a Taʿāīshī by tribe.

3- Maḥmūd Aḥmad was a Mahdist *amīr* and a nephew of the Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi. In 1891 he was appointed governor of Darfur and Kordofan instead of ʿUthman Ādam who had died in 1889. In 1897 the Khalīfa recalled him to guard the northern approaches of the Sudan against a threatened advance of Anglo-Egyptian forces. He was largely responsible for the massacre of al-Matamma in 1898. His army was utterly defeated in the battle of ʿAṭbara, he was taken prisoner after the battle and he died in captivity at Rosetta in 1906.

[Completion of the first page. liabilities]

Hires of boats:

For transport of military detachment's grain

from al-Mauwrada[1] to al-Hijra[2] :

qūshlī	40		
maqbūl	1153 7/8	1193 7/8	

Half a rent from Omdurman to

al-Matamma and vice versa:

An original rent 990 1/4

Recording the

half of [the rent]

until the arrival 495 1/8

495 1/8

cash statement [half of the rent]

qūshlī	388 1/4		
maqbūl	158 1/4	546 1/2	
		1740 3/8	

cash statement

qūshlī	428 1/4		
maqbūl	1312 1/8	1740 3/8	

For transport of ammunition,

all of it is in *qūshlī* 405

2145 3/8

cash statement

qūshlī	833 1/4		
maqbūl	1312 1/8	2145 3/8	00

Wages of guardians of grain at al-Mauwrada:

qūshlī	2		
maqbūl	130	132	00

Price baskets for carrying grain in *maqbūl* 300 00

---

[1]- al-Mawarada was a quey on the bank of the Nile of Omdurman. At this quey the *bayt al-māl* had an agent who was responsible for levying custom dues of weighing merchandise which entered or went out from Omdurman through this gate.

[2]- al-Hijra was a military camp located north of Omdurman.

[Completion of the first page of liabilities]

For beloved Yaʿqūb ʿAlī[1] and guardians		
of ammunition, who with him in *qūshlī*	12 00	
Muḥammad al-Ḥājj Sulaymān and his group who		
are guarding the grain of the military detachment		
in *maqbūl*	270 00	
	28593/800	
		51423/400

[1]- He was the head of the guardians of the ammunition.

[The second page. Liabilities]

Liabilities

R Pt.

Concerning outgoing expenditure:

		R.	Pt.
Carried forward		51423/4	00
Continuation of expenses of our lord, the honoured Maḥmūd Aḥmad			
Carried forward	28593/8	00	
Hire of ferrying and carriers, for carrying grain of the boats from the bank of the Nile to al-Hijra and from the bank of the Nile into the boats in *maqbūl*	7971/2	00	
Price of pillars for the tents, *qūshlī*	6	00	
Price of dry measures sent to al-Matamma:			
qūshlī 4			
maqbūl 14	18	00	
Price of tents and carpets for protection the ammunition from the rain:			
qūshlī 122			
maqbūl 5	127	00	
[For] the honoured ᶜAbd al-Bāqī ᶜAbd al-Wakīl[1] :			
Price of leather lockers for ammunition			
qūshlī 27			
His own salary of this month in maqbūl 674			
Price of wooden *ḥiwāya*[2] :			
qūshlī 61/2			
maqbūl 1 71/2			

1- He, Mahdist *amir* and Taᶜāīshī by tribe; he fought in the great battles of the Mahdiyya, in the preparations made in 1898 to resist the Anglo-Egyption advance from the north, showed considerable military skill in the building of forts in Sabalūka gorge and on the river bank of Omdurman; after the battle of Omdurman in 1898 he fled with the Khalīfa ᶜAbdallāhi and was wounded and taken prisoner in the battle of Umm Dibaīkrāt in 1899; he died in 1918 in Omdurman.

2- They were used as boxes for carrying goods on camels.

[Completion of the second page. liabilities]

7081/2

cash statement

qūshlī	331/2		
maqbūl	675	7081/2 00	
		45163/800	

cash statement

qūshlī		10123/4 00	
maqbūl		35031/2 00	45161/4 00

Price of articles for the honoured Abā Sām[1] -

qūshlī		6 00	
maqbūl		1061/4 00	1121/4 00

Expenses for those mentioned [below] for purchasing grain and wood:

Muḥammad al-Ḥājj Sulaymān for buying the grain in *qūshlī*: 2635 00

Yūsuf Jābr:

For purchasing the grain:

qūshlī	330		
maqbūl	300	630	
For purchasing the wood, *maqbūl*		2000	
		2630	

cash statement

qūshlī		330	
maqbūl		2300	2630 00

Ibrāhīm Bābikr[2] for buying the grain:

qūshlī		750	
maqbūl		2900	3650 00

ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Muḥammad Sulaymān for buying the grain from Gezira in *qūshlī* 715 00

9630 00

cash statement

qūshlī 4430 00

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[1]- Abā Sām, Mahdist *amīr*; he was responsible for the military preparations at the camp of Jabra, northwest of Omdurman, when the Anglo-Egyptian army was advancing toward Omdurman.

[2]- He was the commissioner of the granary of the *bayt al-māl*.

[Completion of the second page. liabilities]

maqbūl	5200 00	9630 00
		194013/800

[the third page. Liabilities]

Liabilities

R. Pt.

Concerning outgoing of expenditure:

			R. Pt.
Carried forward			194013/8 00
Price of string and articles for the big tent:			
qūshlī		11/2 00	
maqbūl		22 00	231/2 00
Postmen came from the honoured			
Abū Bakr ʿUthmān Diqna			335 00
Appointed at the governmental department:			
qūshlī		4 00	
maqbūl		290 00	294 00
Hire of boats			
For bringing goods of Ḥassan Ḥidirbī which			
is a part from the goods of gum:			
qūshlī	14		
maqbūl	13	27 00	
For transport of the gum sent to Berber			
for Ḥassan Ḥidirbī, *qūshlī*		40 00	
For bringing grain from the commissioners			
of purchases at the Gezira, *maqbūl*		86443/4 00	
For bringing fodder for food of the camels			
with al-Raḍī Saʿad and Faḍl Allāh al-Sirūjī in *qūshlī*		9 00	
		87203/4 00	
		cash statement	
qūshlī		63 00	
maqbūl		86573/4 00	87203/4 00
Price of articles for the Khalīfa's house			
"Maḥal al-Lizūm"			
Price of fishes, *qūshlī*		30 00	
The salary at the hand of Bakhīt Sālim			
to be delivered to ʿAbd Allāhī al-Amīn, *maqbūl*		300 00	
Price of ropes at the hand of Dāwūd			
Muḥammad al-Mulāzim		10 00	
		340 00	
		cash statement	

[Completion of the third page. liabilities]					
	qūshlī		30	00	
	maqbūl		310	00	340 00
At the hand of the beloved Maḥmūd ʿAlī:					
For the settlers	*maqbūl*		1000	00	
For the *Takkiyya*[1]	*maqbūl*		500	00	1500 00
Price of rams which were handed over to Bakhīt Sālim for the *Takkiyya* and the Khalīfa's house, *maqbūl*					400 00
Price of *ḥawāyā* and ropes for the government works:					
	qūshlī		11	00	
	maqbūl		92	00	103 00
Price of cloth which were formerly bought by ʿAnīd Madanī Ḥusayn to hand them over to the beloved Bān Naqā Mūsa[2] in *maqbūl*					13751/2 00
Workshop of the tailors					
Price of articles for sewing the cloth:					
	qūshlī	1568 00			
	maqbūl	1471/4 00	17151/4 00		
Payments for al-ʿAwaḍ Jumʿa, hire [for sewing] *jibbas* ["uniforms of Ansār"], according his agreement [with the *bayt al-māl*], *qūshlī*			400	00	
Prices of mats for sitting of the tailors in *maqbūl*			100	00	
For a dinner for the tailors, two days in from the beginning of Muḥarram until [its end]			369	00	
			25841/4	00	
					324931/8 00

1- *Takkiyya* meant the house of pubic guests.

2- He was a clerk of the Black Flag "*al-Rāha al-Zarqā*".

[The fourth page. Liabilities]

Liabilities

R. Pt.

Concerning outgoing of expenditure:

			R.	Pt.
Carried forward			324931/8	00
Continuation of workshop of the tailors				
Carried forward		25841/4 00		
		cash statement		
	qūshlī	1968 00		
	maqbūl	6161/4 00	25841/4	00
A deposit for those mentioned [below], for bringing grain from the commissioners of purchases, by their boats, who are ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, Muḥammad Wushī, Aḥmad al-ʿAubayd, ʿAbdallāh and Kurūrī, in *qūshlī*			20	00
At the hand of Aḥmad Muḥammad to exchange them by the copper coinage for the requirements of the government, in *qūshlī*			20	00
Concerning the expenses of the fourth-fifths				
For the Mahdī's widows, price of bricks, lime, Wood and articles:				
	qūshlī	241/2		
	maqbūl	8081/2	833	00
Payments to the Khalīfa's house; price of mats and ropes at the hand of Bakhīt Sālim and cash value at the hand of ʿAlī Taqalī instead of 184 foreign *riyāls* :				
	qūshlī	31		
	maqbūl	2207	2238	00
Payments to the house of our lord khalīfat al-Fārrūq [ʿAlī w. Ḥilu]:				
Price of wax,	*qūshlī*	151/2		
his salary,	*maqbūl*	300	3151/2	00
Payments to our lord khalīfat al-Karrār [Muḥammad Sharīf]:				
His own salary in *maqbūl*		300		
Hire of a boat for transport grain:				
	qūshlī	41		

[Completion of the fourth page. liabilities]

maqbūl	4	45		
		345		
		cash statement		
qūshlī		41		
maqbūl		304	345	00
The honoured, our lord Ḥārūn Muḥammad,[1] *maqbūl*			50	00
The honoured al-Sanūsī Aḥmad[2]: His own salary, in *maqbūl*		50		
Hire of a boat for bringing grain:				
qūshlī	18			
maqbūl	16	34		
		84		
		cash statement		
qūshlī		18		
maqbūl		66	84	00
Price of fodder for the animal of the four-fifths:				
qūshlī		8		
maqbūl		9	17	00
Expenses of *al-Miḥrāb al-Sharīf* ["the honourable niche" of the Mosque], qūshlī			1	00
			3883 1/2	00
			cash statement	
qūshlī			139	00
maqbūl			37441/2	00
				38831/200
				390007/8 00

1- Hārūn ibn Muḥammad was a Mahdist *amīr*, a Taʿāsha by tribe and a brother of the Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi. He was killed at the battle of Umm Dibaykarāt in 1899.

2- al-Sanūsī Aḥmad was a Mahdist *amīr* of the Taʿāsha branch of the Baqqāra and half brother of the Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi. He was killed at the battle of Umm Dibaykarāt in 1899.

[The fifth page. Liabilities]

Liabilities

R. Pt.

Concerning outgoing of expenditure:

			R.	Pt.
Carried forward			390007/8	00
The people [al-Taʿāīsha] and the Black Flag:				
qūshlī	10	00		
maqbūl	851	00	861	00
Commissioners and *Mulāzimiyya*:				
qūshlī	20	00		
maqbūl	946	00	966	00
Price of a slave for al-Nūr Aṣṣīl, *qūshlī*			35	00
Price of a horse for Jumʿa Shaqqa, *qūshlī*			20	00
Price of salves returned to their owners after they proved their ownerships:				
qūshlī	85	00		
maqbūl	13	00	98	00

Employees of the governmental departments (*khudamāʾ maṣāliḥ al-dīn*):

Employees of the courts:

The high court

qūshlī	17	
maqbūl	106	123
The court of the *Bayt al-Māl*, in *maqbūl*		50
The court of the market, in *maqbūl*		25
[The court of] al-Mauwrada, in *maqbūl*		591
		879

cash statement

qūshlī		17		
maqbūl		772	879	00
al-Sāyr Idrīs and his colleagues, in *maqbūl*			210	00
Announcers of the hours of the prayers, in *maqbūl*			15	00

Steamboats:

Salaries of workers, *maqbūl*		570
Equipments:		
qūshlī	401/2	
maqbūl	21341/2	2175

[Completion of the fifth page. liabilities]

2745

cash statement

qūshlī	401/2		
maqbūl	2704 1/2	2745	00
The naval branches, *maqbūl*		10	00
Irregular soldiers going to al-Matamma, *maqbūl*		230	00
Builders of the government buildings, *maqbūl*		90	0
Employees of the lithographic press:			
qūshlī	7		
maqbūl	25	32	00
Postmen (*al-ḥajjāna*):			
qūshlī	156		
maqbūl	1204	1360	00
		5481	00

409807/8 00

[Completion of the sixth page. liabilities]

maqbūl	76093/8 00	79353/400
Price of necessary measures for al-Mauwrada, in *maqbūl*		200 00
Prices of necessary implements for the department of boats, in *qūshlī:*		
Maintenance of a boat, *maqbūl*	3 00	
Price of articles for Ḥumayda's boat which belongs to the *Bayt al-Māl*	2 00	5 00
For lockers for doors, and lanterns and ordered perfumes:		
qūshlī	221/2 00	
maqbūl	41/2 00	27 00
Wages for carriers for transport grain form the boats to granaries, *maqbūl*		4283/4 00
Price of fodder for the animals of the *Bayt al-Māl* :		
qūshlī	13 00	
maqbūl	393 00	406 00
Hire of a camel for carrying hides of the dead cows of the *Bayt al-Māl* at the east, *maqbūl*		8 00
for irregular soldiers (*mutashammirīn*) in *maqbūl*		694 00
		506853/8 00

[The Seventh page Liabilities]

For the guests of the Jabbrta in maqbūl		123	00	
The Ethiopian guests, price of medicine for their medical treatment in *qūshlī*		4	00	
		432	00	
	cash statement			
	qūshlī	4	00	
	maqbūl	428	00	432 00
Inspectors of [smuggled] goods and the wine and tobacco:				
	qūshlī	6	00	
	maqbūl	90	00	96 00
Herdsmen of the cows at the east [bank of the Nile]:				
	qūshlī	6	00	
	maqbūl	491	00	497 00
The herdsmen of camels, group of Jābir and al-Raḍi Saʿad:				
	qūshlī	86	00	
	maqbūl	284	00	370 00
Separated [from their home and they are needing financial helps "*munqaṭiʿīn*"]:				
	qūshlī	28	00	
	maqbūl	137	00	165 00
For the blind and the disabled				4 00
Expense of the lions[2], the guardians:				

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[1]- Those Ethiopian and Jabbarta guests were the members of the delegation of the Ethiopian Government which was sent to Omdurman in April 1897 to settle the political problems between two countries.

[2]- According to the account of Shuqayr (p. 648), those lions were transferred to Cairo at the occupation of Omdurman.

[Completion of the seventh page. liabilities]

qūshlī	3 00		
maqbūl	38 00	41 00	
		522903/8 00	
		cash statement	
qūshlī		84471/4 00	
maqbūl		438431/8 00	522903/8 00

Concerning the balance at the treasury until the end of the month of Muḥarram the 1315:

qūshlī		2991/4 2	
maqbūl		1450 3/4 3/8	1750 23/8
			540403/8 23/8
			cash statement
qūshlī			87461/2 2
maqbūl			452937/8 3/8
			540403/8 23/8

The balance and its amount is fifty four thousands and forty riyāls and one-fourth and one-eighth riyāl and two piastres and one-fourth and one-eighth [of piastre], without any increase. And greetings.

[The seal of the Commissioner Ibrāhīm Ramaḍān and his signature]

In conclusion we can say that most of the taxes of the Mahdiyya were lower than those demanded by the Turkiyya, as Muṣtafa al-Amīn said:

".....The basic taxation was less heavy than it had been in the Egyptian times, although the Khalīfa was liable to make sudden demands [i.e contributions] which probably increased the total beyond what it had been before the Mahdia..."[1]

Although formally the taxes were lower than the Turkish ones, the tax-collectors who were appointed by the Khalīfa, notably the *Baqqāra,* were known to ill-treat the people when they collected the taxes. Consequently, the result was over-taxation as before, which only served to line the pockets of the collectors and generated bitterness towards the *Baqqāra* and the Government.

1- P. M. Holt, 1958, 185. Mustafa al-Amīn was a Jaʿalī merchant from Omdurman, a man of some influence and a cousin of the *Qāḍī al-Islām* Aḥmad ʿAlī.

Before the coming of the Turks in 1821, a number of European and Turkish currencies found their way into the large towns, and passed into private hands. The Maria Theresa dollar circulated mainly in the Eastern Sudan, in Sawākin and Maṣṣawaʿ, and provided a stable exchange for the Red Sea and Ethiopia trade.[1] In addition there was a considerable trade in gold dust, ingots, and gold in animal-shaped tablets of fixed weight.[2] Turkish coins, the *maḥbūb* and *ashrāfiyya* circulated in Sinnār and Gezira area.[3]

After the Turco-Egyptian conquest, foreign currencies spread widely, and many Egyptian and Turkish coins were introduced into the Sudanese towns.[4] Gold and silver coins such as the Spanish, Venetian and Dutch pounds and dollars circulated easily among the people because they were trusted amongst the merchants.[5] On the other hand, the Turkish and Egyptian coins were met with public reluctance. The people thought that they were false. Then the Government fixed their exchange rates in relation to the Sudanese medium of exchange and forced the reluctant people to accept them. Subsequently, the Egyptian pound, the *qirsh* (piastre) and its parts; *niṣf fiḍḍa* (1 para), *al-khayriyya*, etc. were introduced into the Sudan[6].

1- R. Hill, 1959, 37; S. W. Foster, ed., 1949, *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries, London, 105.*

2- Yaqoub Pasha Artin, "the coinage of Mohammed Ahmed the Mahdi of the Sudan" is an appendix in F. R. Wingate, 1968; A. T. Holdroyd, "Iron money of Kordofan", *Numismatic Chronicle,* vol. I, 1938-9, 110-13.

3- Muḥammad Nūr ibn Ḍayf Allāh, 1984, 98; 103, T. Walz, 1978, *Trade between Egypt and Bilād as Sudān, 1700-1820,* Cairo, 249-251; *Maḥabūb* was a gold coin which was minted in Egypt in 1736. When it was introduced its value was 110 *niṣf fiḍḍa*, subsequently rising to 120 *niṣf fiḍḍa*. By 1798 its value had risen to 180 *niṣf fiḍḍa*. It introduced into the Sudan during the Fūnj Sultanate.

4- A. Bjørkelo, 1989, 107; R. Hill, 1959, 37-38.

5- R. Hill, 1959, 38; A. Bjørkelo, 1989, 107; Y. Nakash, 1988, 375.

6- A. Bjørkelo, 1989, 108; Y. Nakash, 1988, 375; *qirsh* (pl. *qurūsh*) was a silver coin first minted in Egypt during the time of ʿAlī Bey al-Kabīr (1767-72) and valued at 40 *niṣf fiḍḍa*. It was withdrawn from circulation a few years later and subsequently reintroduced by Muḥammad ʿAlī. At that time it was also valued at 40 *niṣf* and gradually replaced the *niṣf* as the basic unit of currency. It became known as the piastre (see T. Walz, 1978, 1249-51).=

On the eve of the Mahdist revolution the use of coins had become common and international trade flourished.

Gold and silver coins as medium of exchange performed a number of functions in the economic and social life in the Sudan: They served as a measure of value of goods and services, were worn by women for decoration and were hoarded for their intrinsic values.

Exchange Rates

Although the official exchange rates of these currencies were fixed by the Turks, they still fluctuated in the markets. For instance, after 1834, the American, European, and Ottoman silver.dollars were valued at 20 piastres, but unofficially they were exchanged at between 16 and 19 .instead of 20 piastres.

Tab. 6/1: Some foreign currencies, their local names, and approximate exchange rates:

currency	local name	metal	rate	origin
para [p.]	niṣf-fiḍḍa	silver	01 p.	Egyptian
piastre [pt.]	qirsh	sil. & cop.	40 p.	Egyp. Turk.
khayriyya	khayriyya	gold	09 pt.	Egyptian
Majīdī dollar	riyāl Majīdī	silver	20 pt.	Egyp. Turk.
Egyptian pound	junayh miṣrī	gold	100 pt.	Egyptian
Charles IV dollar	riyāl Abū madfʿa [cannon]	silver	20 pt.	Spanish
----------	riyāl Abū ʿamūd [column]	----------	----------	----------
----------	riyāl Abū arbʿa [four]	----------	----------	----------
Maria Theresa	riyāl Abū nuqṭa	silver	20 pt.	Austrian
----------	riyāl Abū ṭayyara [bird]	----------	----------	----------
----------	riyāl abū niʿāma	----------	----------	----------

=Colloquially in the Sudan was known as the *kabāshshī*, because it was introduced in the Sudan by the Kabābīsh Arab, in Darfur as *jaraqandī*.

al-miṣriyya	*1*	"	"
al-khayriyya 'l mīm	*1/2*	"	"
al-saᶜadiyya wal-barqūta wal-taᶜrīfa wal-rubᶜ al-miṣrī	*1/4*	"	"
al-riyāl al-majīdī	*20 piastres*		-[1]

Tab. 6/2.

.... We ordered all [the coins] mentioned to be acceptable and whoever disobeys this order [.....] violates the law [....] will be punished by the judge [ḥākim al-sharᶜi] of the Market .[2]

This proclamation reveals that there was a great number of foreign currencies circulating in the Sudan before the Mahdiyya. In addition to these Yūsuf Mikhāᵓīl mentions others in his memoirs, such as *al-rabiᶜayya wa abū shinkū* (both were Egyptian coins), and *abū masla* (?)[3].

In 1884 Khartoum was besieged by the Mahdist forces, and all communication with it was cut off. For a long period this siege created a shortage in food and money. Furthermore, the government treasury went bankrupt.[4] In order to solve this problem, Gordon issued paper money as a media of exchange. The first issue consisted of five, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, and fifty piastres.[5] Each bore its value at the top, a serial number and the words: *"This sum is acceptable and we will pay it from the treasury of Khartoum or Cairo, after six months from the date on 25 April 1884."* At the

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1- *al-faraj-allah* ("a half ounce gold medallion used also as an accepted coin"), *al-junayh al-miṣrī* ("the Egyptian pound"), *al-junayh al-afranjī* ("pound sterling"), *al-junayh al-muskūbī* ("the Russian Ruble"), *al-junayh al-Majīdī* ("the Ottoman pound of Sultan ᶜAbd al-Majīd"), *al-junayh al-bintū* ("Napoleon Louis d'or"), *al-junayh al-bunduqī* ("the Venetian pound"), *al-maḥmūdī* ("the Ottoman riyāl of Sultan Maḥmūd II"), *al-majar* ("the Hungarian thaler"), *al-khayriyyah al-sīn; wal-mīm wal-miṣriyya,* ("all are Egyptian coins from Muḥammad ᶜAlī's period"), *al-saᶜadiyya wal-barqūta wal-taᶜarīfa wal rubᶜa 'l-miṣrī* ("*al-barquta* was a local designation for small silver coins"), *al-taᶜarīfa wal-rubᶜa al-miṣrī* ("both are Egyptian coins") and *al-riyāl al-Majīdī* ("the Ottoman riyāl of Sultan ᶜAbd al-Majid").

2- *Manshūrāt*, vol. III, 239-240.

3- S. M. Nūr, 1962, 136.

4- M. ᶜAbd al-Rahīm, 1953, *al-Nidāᵓ fī dafᶜ al-Iftirāᵓ*, Cairo, 16; F. R. Wingate, 1968, 165.

5- N. Shuqayr, 1967, 806.

bottom, the signature of Gordon and his seal.[1] At first the merchants refused to accept the paper money. Consequently the government issued an order, warning the merchants; if anyone refused to accept the paper money, he would be shot. Accordingly the merchants accepted the paper money, but at a lower value. On the other hand, the shortage in small units and adulterated money interrupted commercial dealings in Khartoum.[2]

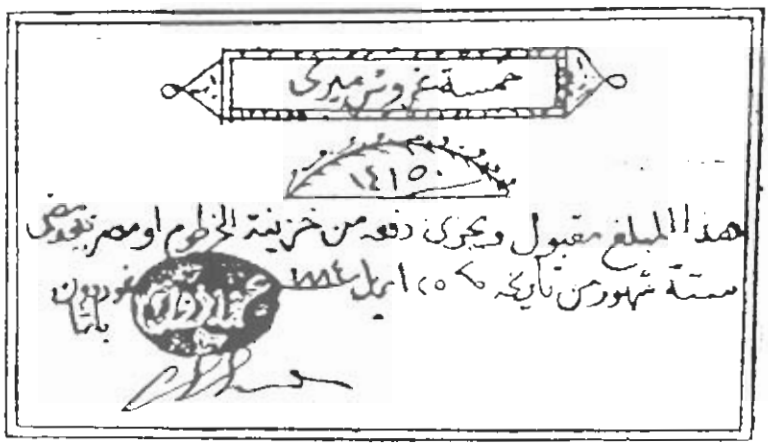


Fig. 6/1: Gordon's paper money[3]

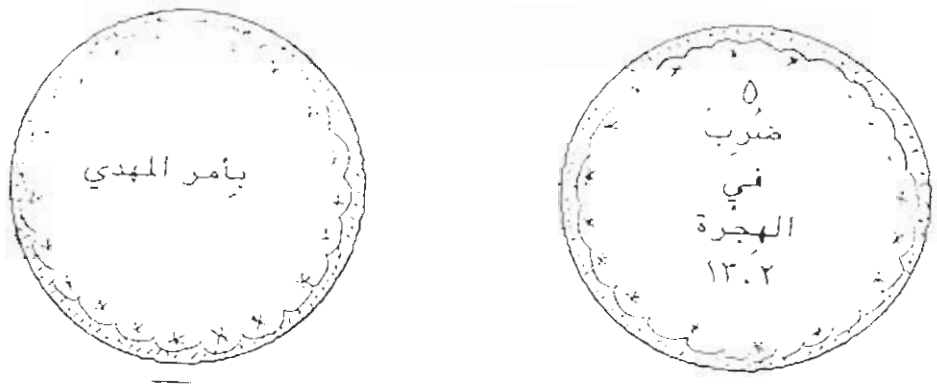
Undoubtedly the diversity of these currencies created confusion in commodities' prices and exchange rates in both Khartoum and the Mahdī's camp. It undermined the exchange rates which were fixed by the Mahdī because they were not realistic in relation to the market.[4]

1- N. Shuqayr, 1967, 809, Y. Beresiner and C. Narbeth, 1973, *The Story of the Paper Money*, Newton Abbot, 50-1; A. Pick, 1986, *Standard Catalogue of Money Paper*, 5th ed., vol. 1, Mundan, 863; R. Hill, 1966, 19.

2- N. Shuqayr, 1967, 806-9.

3- Ibid., 806.

4- R. F. Wingate, 1893, 230; H.S. Job, 1920, 164.



Obverse Reverse

Fig. 6/2. The silver *riyāl* of the Mahdī.

The half *riyāl* followed closely the design of silver *riyāl* . The words " محمد المهدي " (Muḥammad al-Mahdī) replaced the words "By order of the Mahdī" on the obverse.

These Mahdist coins brought with them a number of problems:

First: The Mahdī minted his coinage in a high quality of gold and silver. For instance, his gold pound was better than the Egyptian one. According to the accounts of Yaʿqūb Pasha Artin its fineness was 23 *qirāṭs* , and the Egyptian pound 21 *qirāṭs*. The following table shows this difference (Tab. 6/3.):

	intrinsic value in piastres	official value	percentage of undervaluation
Egyptian pound	100	100	00%
The Mahdī's pound	101,35	100	1,0135% [1]

Merchants and silversmiths discovered this difference and melted down and exported the gold pound of the Mahdī, mainly to Egypt.

Secondly: The absence of suitable machinery for minting coins adversely affected their durability, and coins could be broken by hand. This decreased their intrinsic value after some time in

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1- Ḥamadnā Allāh Muṣṭafa Ḥassan, 1985, *al-Taṭawwur al-Iqtiṣādī wa 'l-Ijtimāʿī fī al-Sūdān, 1841-1885*, Cairo, 95-7; Muḥammad ʿAlī Rifaʿat, 1935, *The Monetory System of Egypt*, London, 48.

circulation and led merchants to accept them at a rate lower than their official value.[1]

Thirdly: The Mahdī did not mint smaller denominations. When Ohrwalder arrived in Omdurman in 1303/1886, he found a great scarcity in smaller denominations.[2] This shortage of smaller coins led people again to use local media in their transactions to fill this gap.

The Mahdists' Idea Behind the Minting of Coinage

It appears that the Mahdī issued his coinage for political and economic reasons:

Political reason: To prove his political and economic status as an independent ruler (the expected Mahdī). Thus he issued his coinage, stamping his own name on its obverse (By order of the Mahdī). This was the ultimate vindication of his independent status.

Economic reason. Undoubtedly, the outbreak of the Mahdist revolution interrupted the flow of foreign trade and created a shortage in circulated money. The Mahdī tried to solve this problem in different stages: During the revolutionary period he issued a proclamation on 12 *Ṣafar* 1302/1 December 1884, fixing official exchange rates for foreign currencies and urging the *Anṣār* to accept them. Soon after the fall Khartoum he minted his own coinage (the gold pound) in the name of the Ottoman Sultan.

Here we ask ourselves a question: If the Mahdī issued his coinage for an ideological motive, why did he issue his pound in the name of the Ottoman Sultan? Why did he not stop the circulation of foreign currencies, although he prohibited his followers to imitate the Turks in every thing even their handwriting and address?

All these questions emphasise that the Mahdī issued his coinage in the name of the Ottoman Sultan for economic reason: to give his coinage acceptance in markets, facilitating its circulation among the people who had no experience of it, because the Egyptian pound had wide acceptance among commoners and merchants at that time.

Subsequently, the Mahdī felt that minting of coinage was not as simple matter as he had hoped. There there were many problems that

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1- F. R. Wingate, 1968, 597; Y. Nakash, 1988, 376.

2- F. R. Wingate, 1892, 230.

hindered the circulation of his coins (see above). Finally the Mahdī closed the mint.

Consequently the Mahdī's coinage disappeared from circulation, and foreign currencies dominated again. Although the Mahdī fixed the exchange rate for foreign currencies (see above), the people still refused to accept them at their official rates. This public reluctance led the Khalīfa to issue a proclamation on 5 *Rajab* 1303/9 April 1886, emphasizing the legality of the Mahdī's proclamation (see above), and urging people to accept all coins at their face value:

> *.... You are well aware that the Imām al-Mahdī often issued proclamations to the effect that you should accept all descriptions of money; that you should refuse none, and he spoke many parables on this subject; I also have done the same. Still, however, I hear that there are disputes amongst you regarding this, and I see that our orders are not obeyed and that you still make objections and quarrel amongst yourselves regarding the acceptance of coins. Now this is a great scandal amongst true Muslims; I therefore again issue to you this proclamation, warning you to cease once and for all such disputes regarding coins of every description, riyāl of every sort, even if the inscription on them be obliterated, also all pounds and piastres, whether they be Kabbāshī, Jaraqandī, or Egyptian, whether they be obliterated or not. All these must be circulated in all your transactions and the value of all of them shall be unalterable, whether they be obliterated or not.*
>
> *If henceforth one objects to taking an obliterated coin, even should it be merely a piastre, he will be punished by the confiscation of all his property for disobedience of orders and in accordance with our previous proclamations on this subject. The following order will also take effect forthwith: 4 yards of dammūr will be sold for a quarter of a riyāl throughout the Sudan. Be aware of disobedience of orders which involves a heavy punishment.....*[1]

1- M. I. Abū Salīm, 1969, 277; both *Kabbāshī* and *Jaraqandī* were colloquial Sudanese names for the Egyptian piastre; Wingate, 1968, 599-60

This proclamation emphasizes the lawfulness of the Mahdī's proclamation in which he fixed the exchange rates of foreign currencies. Likewise the Khalīfa attempted to improve the situation, opening the door for a local media of exchange *dammūr* (a piece of cloth), to flourish again. Ohrwalder reports that when he arrived in Omdurman in *Rajab* 1203/ April 1886 he found that pieces of *dammūr* valued at ten, five, and two and a half piastres according to their sizes. These pieces circulated as means of exchange. But soon they became very dirty from being passed from hand to hand and covered with oil. Then the merchants refused to accept them at their official value. When the Khalīfa learnt this, he issued a proclamation, threatening those who refused to accept these rags of *dammūr* with confiscation of property and imprisonment, appointing many spies in various markets to report to him the names of whose who objected. But the spies were bribed to keep silence, and the Khalīfa was obliged to give in. These harsh decrees of the Khalīfa led speculators to buy these rags of *dammūr* at half price, and to sell them to the *Bayt al-Māl* at their full price or official value as prices of goods which were bought by them from the *Bayt al-Māl*.[1]

The natural result of this policy was a number of disputes and difficulties in the markets and a gloomy impact on foreign trade. The following account gives a vivid picture of that situation:

> *Some customers came to eat my [Rosignoli]* [2] *beans and gave me in payment pieces of cloth [dammūr]. They requested that I give them in change Egyptian currency. This was impossible for me to do, and I suggested that they take as much of the commodity as I had for sale at the official value of the cloth . They replied by curses and insults. My patience being exhausted I called them "filthy". Never had such a thing had done before. The guard from the maḥkama [the Market's court], dealing with traders came and led me before*

1- C. Rosignoli, 1967, *SNR.*, 39.

2- Rosignoli was brought to the Sudan by Mons. Comboni as a missionary. He arrived in Khartoum on the 28 th January 1881. Almost immediately he was sent to Kordofan where he spent a short period at the mission station in Dalling. In December of the same year he came to al-Ubayyiḍ and remained there during its siege and fall. On 26th of May he entered Omdurman where he remained as a normal citizen until his escape in 1894.

the judges; there were four of them, [.....] I was condemned to receive forty lashes with a kūrbaj [a hide whip] .....[1]

The Khalīfa's Coinage

The Khalīfa opened his reign with a shortage in circulated currencies and inherited all the monetary problems of his predecessor (see above). Although he tried to improve the situation, the problems still continued. In addition he did not mint any coinage until 1304/1886/7. During this time transactions were based mainly on foreign currencies and local medium of exchange, *dammūr* (see above). A considerable quantity of gold and silver was smuggled out and sold in Egypt by the dealers.[2] In order to stop the smuggling of gold and silver and to regulate exchange rates the Khalīfa decided to mint his own coinage as his predecessor had done.

In 1304/1886/7 the mint was reorganized at Omdurman by the *amīn* of the *Bayt al-Māl,* Ibrāhīm ʿAdlān. In the same year the latter issued the first series of silver coins under the Khalīfa. It consisted of 20, 10, 5 and 1 piastre pieces. The words " بأمر المهدي " of the Mahdī's issue were replaced by the word " مَقبُول " (accepted); on the obverse and the reverse bore descriptions " ضُرِبَ في أم دُرمَان ١٣٠٤ " (Struck in Omdurman 1304). Each coin bore its official value on obverse, for instance the official value of the *maqbūl riyāl* was ٢٠ش (20 piastres).

Obverse

Reverse

Fig. 6/3: The first issue of Ibrāhīm ʿAdlān in 1304.

1- C. Rosignoli, 1967, *SNR.*, 39-40.

2- R. C. Slatin, 1896, 169.

The fineness of the *maqbūl* was lower than that of the Mahdī's *riyāl*. According to Slatin the Mahdī's *riyāl* contained 7 parts of silver and 1 of copper; the first issue of the *maqbūl* 6 silver and 2 copper, and the second issue 5 silver and 3 copper. The merchants refused to accept these latter at their official value (20 piastres); as a punishment their goods were confiscated and their shops closed. This punishment forced them to accept these coins at their face value. Consequently, the Khalīfa restored their goods and warned them if anyone made any further difficulties, he would be punished by the loss of his right hand and his left foot. However, the natural outcome of these arbitrary measures was an immediate rise in prices (price-inflation) to compensate for the difference in value between the new and the old *riyāl*; of course, the Khalīfa believed that the *riyāl* had been accepted and with that he was satisfied.[1]

In 1307/1890 al-Nūr al-Jirayfāwī succeeded Ibrāhīm ʿAdlān as *amīn* of the *Bayt al-Māl*. The former carried on the issue of his predecessor without any change in its type and date until 1309. When the dies wore out or broke new ones were made from the old again.

Owing to continual striking, some dies of this issue became depressed and protruded in the centre instead of being flat. For this reason the coin was nicknamed the *abū ṣadr* (the possessor of a chest).

In 1310/1892 the dies were changed, and two new issues were coined. Both were known as the *abū kibs* from the broad bladed spears in the design, and *ʿumla jadīda* (new coinage). The early *riyāls* of *abū kibs* were better than *ʿumla jadīda riyāls*. But both were inferior in their fineness to the *maqbūl riyāl*.

As Yaʿqūb Pasha Artin said the *abū kibs*'s design was copied from the new Egyptian coinage of the Khedive Muḥammad Tawfīq of 1303 or 1304. This issue though circulated with difficulty at first, seems to have been ultimately the most successful of all types which were issued by al-Nūr al-Jirayfāwī. It was issued in slightly varying designs in the years 1310/1892, 1311/1893, and 1312/1894. It was the origin of a newly designed issue in 1312 and of another one in 1315/1897/8. The latter was issued by the *amīn* of *Bayt al-Māl* Ibrāhīm Ramaḍān.

The *ʿumla jadīda riyāl* bore on its obverse the words " عُمله جديده ", and the words " عَزّ نَصرَه " (May his victory be glorified) added on its reverse; in addition the word " جيّد " (Good)

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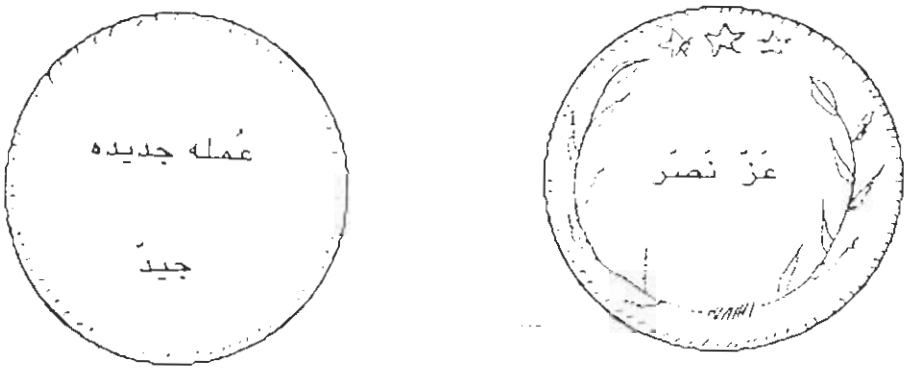
[1]- Ibid., 408; M. S. al-Qaddal, 1981, 6.

was cut on the obverse as a further inducement to accept this coin. In this issue the Mahdists imitated the Ottoman coins of 1255.[1]



Obverse Reverse

Fig. 6/4: The second issue of al-Nūr al-Jirayfāwī in 1310 (*ʿUmla Jadīda*).

However, the intrinsic value of the *ʿumla jadīda riyāl* was too low. It consisted of 2 silver parts and 5 copper. Therefore it was rejected by the market.

Nevertheless, al-Nūr al-Jirayfāwī gradually applied his idea that a coin was only a token and that it was immaterial what it was made of provided it carried some impression upon it.[2] In his second series of the *abū kibs* and *ʿumla jadīda* the quantity of silver decreased, being only a light plating which wore off in a few weeks' time.

Although the Khalīfa decreed that all future offenders should be punished by the confiscation of their property and the loss of a hand and foot, the merchants refused to accept these coins at their official value. Now the merchants learned from their mistakes and knew how to avoid these theoretical sentences. When an intending purchaser came to the merchant, inquiring about the price of a certain article, the vendor asked him in what coinage he intended to pay and then knew what price to ask.[3]

In 1311/1894 al-Nūr al-Jirayfāwī was replaced by al-ʿAwaḍ al-Marḍī (1311-1313) as *amīn* of the *Bayt al-Māl*. The latter immediately issued a new series in 1311, following closely the design of the *ʿumla jadīda*, but with the

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1- R. Plant, 1973, *Arabic Coins and How to Tead Them*, London, 23.

2- C. Neufeld, 1899, 210.

3- Ibid., 210-211.

stars and roses in the borders replaced by crescents. Owing to these crescents in the borders this issue was called the *abū hilāl* (crescent dollar) or ʿAbd al-Majīd *riyāl* from the name of the coiner.[1] In the following year a new type of the *abū hilāl* was coined, taking the name of the coiner, Waqīʿallāh. In this issue the word *maqbūl* replaced *ʿumla jadīda* on the obverse, and the words " عزّ نصره " were omitted from the reverse. In the same year a new type of the *abū kibs* in a new design was made with a spray of flowers to the left of the *Tughra* and with the spears on the reverse omitted. By July 1894 the Waqīʿallāh's *riyāl* was in circulation, but it was no more acceptable than its predessors. After the issuing of this *riyāl*, the Khalīfa found a piece of paper, bearing the word: *"your are stupid, a block head and a circulator of iron money"* at his *miḥirāb* (prayer niche) at the mosque.[2] This indicates that the Waqīʿallāh's *riyāl* was unacceptable.

In 1314/1897 Ibrāhīm Ramaḍān succeeded al-ʿAwaḍ al-Mardī. At the beginning of his tenure a new type of *riyāl* was copied from the *abū kibs*, but it was made from pure copper, bearing the year 1315. Its nickname was *abū shalāya* probably meaning "remains". It appears it was the last issue of the Mahdiyya.

The smaller coins which were minted during the Khalīfa's period were a half *riyāl*, five piastres, and one piastre of *maqbūl*. After Ibrāhīm ʿAdlān's dismissal the mint issued five and two piastres pieces of *'umala jadida* in 1311, two and one piastres of *'umala jadida* and *abū hilāl* in 1312. All of them, except the series of *maqbūl,* were made of copper (see the table below).[3]

Minting

The minting of coins in the Mahdist State passed through several stages:

In the first, the necessary metal for the coins was weighed and then melted in crucibles, a separate crucible being used for each coin; in the second, the cooling metal was hammered into a disc of the requisite size and thickness; in the third, the blank disc was placed between a pair of dies the upper die being struck with a hammer and the

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1- H. S. Job, 1920, 173; M. S. al-Qaddāl, 1981, 8.

2- R. F. Wingate, 1893, 230; P. M. Holt, 1958, 192-3.

3- H. S. Job, 1920, 171-174; Samuel Smith, 1967, 65.

impression thus given to both sides; and in the fourth, the blocks, which were made at the arsenal at Khartoum, were placed on the dies which were made in the previous stage; in the last stage the coin was milled by hand to roll its edge over a ridged steel plate, tapping it lightly with a small piece of wood.[1]

The Monetary Policy of the Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi

The Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi did not follow a single model in his issues, but minted several types of *riyāls* which were different in their weight and fineness. On the other hand, all of them were given the same official value (20 piastres), regardless of the differences in their intrinsic values.

The diversity of these *riyāls* confused commercial dealings in the markets because the price of articles varied with the types of *riyāl* in which payment was offered. There were many questions underlying this phenomenon. How did the *Bayt al-Māl* take control over all these types of *riyāls*? How did the variety of the Mahdist coinage impact on foreign trade and exchange rate of local and foreign currencies? The following paragraphs may answer these questions.

Prices and Acceptability

The law of supply and demand played a considerable role in fixing the exchange rates of currencies in the markets. The fluctuation of these rates caused instability in the market prices; each price was settled by bargaining. The accounts of Neufeld emphasize this fact. He said that when an intending purchaser came to the merchant inquiring about the price of a certain article, the vendor asked him in what coinage he intended to pay; the merchant then knew what price to ask.[2]

The following quotation reveals to us that there were no listed prices but that the settlement of the price was based mainly on bargain:

> *In this land [the Sudan] it is not the custom that one offers his wares [at a set price], but rather that the purchaser must say how much he wants to give for them. If the seller is not*

1- C. Neufeld, 1899, 213; H. S. Job, 175; A. J. Arkel, 1945, "Forged Mahdī Pounds", 49.

2- C. Neufeld, 1899, 213.

markets. Hence, the business of coining counterfeit money began to flourish. This phenomenon reveals that adulterated money circulated during that time, encouraging the merchants to refuse to accept the Mahdist coinage at its face value.

Thirdly: at the end of the Khalīfa's period the Maria Theresa dollar (qūshlī) became again the most powerful currency in foreign and internal trade. At the same time, the Mahdist coins became distrusted among the merchants and the people refused to accept them at their official value.[1]

All these factors, directly or indirectly, led to the fluctuation of exchange rates of the Mahdist coinage, and to the deterioration of foreign trade at the same time. Owing to this situation the Khalīfa prohibited foreign trade with Egypt after his meeting with the big merchants in Omdurman, after the complaint of the soldiers of Maḥmūd's army. In this meeting the Khalīfa adressed them asking: *"Why do merchants accept the riyāl of our brothers of Mḥamūd's army at only half riyāl ? "*. The head of the merchants Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Zarrūq, replied to him saying: *"the reason master is that when the merchants get to Sawākin they find that the light weight Majīdi riyāl is accepted at only half a Maria Theresa riyāl, for the Majīdī is bought and sold like merchandise for its weight in silver"*. This justification provoked the Khalīfa and led him to issue an order the next day prohibiting the merchants from entering Sawākin.[2]

1- B. Badrī, 1959, 157-8.

2- Ibid., 157; In 1896 the Khalīfa recalled his governor of the West Maḥmūd Aḥmad and his army to Omdurman. When this army reached Omdurman, the market was flooded with Majīdi *riyāl*. These *riyāls* were light weight, and for this reason the merchants accepted them at only half a Maria Theresa *riyāl* . Then the soldiers felt exploited by the merchants and complained about them to the Khalīfa. The outcome of this complaint was that the Khalīfa prohibited trade with Egypt (for further details see memoirs of Babikr Badrī, 1969, 202).

The struggle for power between the Khalīfa and the *Ashrāf* reflected the old rivalry between the *awlād al-balad*, the members of the civil bureaucracy, and the *awlād al-ʿarab*, the supporters of the Khalīfa ʿAbdallāhi. At the Mahdī's death the great offices of state and provincial commands were held mainly by the *awlād al-balad*. One year after the Khalīfa's accession, the majority of them were removed from their offices. This struggle strengthened the political influence of the Khalīfa and increased his power over the political and administrative institutions, including the *Bayt al-māl*. In order to reduce the power of the *alwād al-balad*, he divided the *Bayt al-māl* into sub-treasuries. Undoubtedly, this political interference had a negative impact on the development of this fiscal institution.

In the administrative field, the continuity of the personnel from the Turco-Egyptian administration to the Mahdist institutions was remarkable.[1] The Khalīfa brought back a great number of the Turco-Egyptian employees.[2] Obviously, those employees had a strong influence on the fiscal administration of the Mahdist state. The main sources of this study, the statements of accounts of the *Bayt māl al-ʿUmūm*, reflect the main features of the Turco-Egyptian accounting system (see Chapter Four). On the other hand, much of the corruption and oppression which the Mahdī had hoped to sweep away came back with those employees. The *Jihādiyya*, who assisted in the collection of the *zakāh* and *ʿushūr*, reminded the people of the oppression of the *bāshbuzūq* during the Turkiyya. The *amīn* of the *bayt al-māl*, al-ʿAwad al-Marḍī was accused of corruption and kept under arrest, and the Khalīfa's chief die cutter, Ilyās al-Kūrdī was suspected of making adulterated coins for his own use and lost a hand and a foot as a punishment. These cases show a part of the corruption during the Mahdiyya.

In economic terms, the heavy taxes were the inevitable result of the growth of bureaucracy and the enormous unproductive armies which were camped in the capital, provincial headquarters and on the boundaries of the state.

1- F. R. Wingate, 1968, 476.

2- The list of the personnel of the central administrative departments which was compiled immediately after Reconquest shows that of 152 employees listed 63 were Egyptians and Copts, 38 belonged to the riverian tribes and the rest were from the other parts of the Sudan. The majority of the last group were workers. (See P. M. Holt, 1985, 233)

Omdurman as booty. In *Rabīʿ I* 1315 its value was about 44% of the total revenues.[1]

4. Besides these taxes, confiscations, compulsory contributions and profits from the exchange of money played a considerable role in the revenues of the *Bayt al-Māl*.

These non-Islamic taxes and the political and administrative changes mentioned above show clearly that the political and economic circumstances which followed the establishment of the Mahdist state forced the Khalīfa to make major changes in Mahdist ideology.

1- Statement of accounts of the *Bayt al-Māl*.

APPENDIX

(تكملة الصفحة الأولي. إيرادات)

				من وارد الغرب
			ـد ١٥٩	قوشلي
		ـد ١٨٧	٢٨	مقبول
		٢٣٩٥		
				بيانه
		٥٣٦		قوشلي
٢٣٩٥		١٨٥٩		مقبول
				عشور بضائع سودانية
		٨٤		بن قهوه جميعهُ مقبول
				ريش نعام
			١٠	قوشلي
		٦٠	٥٠	مقبول
		١٤٤		
				بيانه
		١٠		قوشلي
١٤٤		١٣٤		مقبول
ـد ٤١٩.٢				

(الصفحه الثانيه. إيرادات)

قرش	ريال		
٧١و٢٪و٧١		مرحله	
		تابع الايرادات	
		.. ـد ٤١٩.٢	مرحله
		.. ٤١	غنيمه بربر ثمن خشب وأبنوس جميعهُ مقبول
		.. ٧.٧١	من ضمن إيجار معمل الصابون مقبول
		.. ـد ٣٨٥٢	إيجار دكاكين مقبول
			تجريد
	.. ١٩		بني هلبه ثمن أبقار جميعهُ قوشلي
	.. ١٣٩		جماعة حمدان بشاره مقبول
	.. ـد ٤٤		خمره وتنباك
	.. ـد ٢٠٢		
			بيانه
	.. ـد ٦٣		قوشلي
	.. ١٣٩		مقبول
			قيمة المبدل من القوشلي بالمقبول لضرورة صرفه في مصالح الدين
	.. ٢٠		أصله بالقوشلي
	.. ٥٠٠	.. ٥٢٠	مقبول
			عن الوارد من محمد الحاج سليمان من ضمن السابق[7] صرفه إليه لشراء[8] العيوش
	.. ٤٤		قوشلي
	.. ١٥	.. ٥٩	مقبول
		.. ٣٨	ثمن أصناف مرتجعه من التشغيل جميعهُ مقبول
		.. ٢٨٢	ثمن هوامل مقبول
		.. ـد ٥٣٩٦٨	
			بيانه
		.. ٪ ٨٧٤٣	قوشلي
.. ـد ٥٣٩٦٨		.. ٪ ٤٥٢٢٤	مقبول
٥٤.٤٠ و ٢/ و ٤/			
			بيانه
٨٧٤٦ ـد ٠.٢			قوشلي
٤٥٢٩٣ و ٪ و ٤/			مقبول
٥٤.٤٠ و ٢/ و ٤/			

7 (الصابق) MS. reads

8 (لمشتري) MS. reads

(الصفحة السابعة إيرادات. تسوية)

ماقبله ٥٤٠٤٠/و٢/و

٥٤٠٤٠/و٢/و

علي الوجه المشروح قد تحررت[9] هذه المسبه عن أصول وخصوم وباقي التقديه الورادة ببيت مال المسلمين بالبقعة الطاهرة شهر محرم سنة ١٣١٥ والأصل طابق علي قدر الخصوم.

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9 (تحررة) MS. reads

(تكملة الصفحة الأولي. مصروفات)

بيانه
٣٨٨ ✓ قـــوشلي
١٥٨ ✓ مقبول
٥٤٦ بـ
١٧٤٠ و ✓
بيانه
٤٢٨ ✓ قوشلي
١٧٤٠ و ✓ و١٣١٢ مقبول

٤٠٥ في توصيل الجبخانه جميعهُ
قوشلي
٢١٤٥ و ✓
بيانه
٨٣٣ ✓ قوشلي
.. ٢١٤٥ و ✓ و ١٣١٢ مقبول
أجرة خفراء[12] علي غلال بالمورده
٢ قوشلي
.. ١٣٢ ١٣٠. مقبول
.. ٣٠٠ ثمن مقاطف خوص لزوم نقل الغلال مقبول
.. ١٢ للحبيب يعقوب علي ومن معه محافظين
علي الجبخانه قوشلي
.. ٢٧٠. محمد الحاج سليمان وجماعته الخدماء[13]
.. ٢٨٥٩ و ✓ المحافظين علي غلال السريه مقبول

٥١٤٢ ج ..

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12 MS. reads (غفر)

13 MS. reads (الخدما)

(تكملة الصفحة الثانية. مصروفات)

لشراء[18] الغلال

		٣٣.	قوشلي
	٦٣.	٣٠..	مقبول
	٢٠٠٠		لشراء[19] الأخشاب مقبول
	٢٦٣.		
			بيانه
		٣٣.	قوشلي
..	٢٦٣.	٢٣..	مقبول
			إبراهيم بابكر لشراء[20] الغلال
		٧٥.	قوشلي
..	٣٦٥.	٢٩..	مقبول
..	٧١٥		عبدالرحيم محمد سليمان لشراء[21] الغلال
			بالجزيره قوشلي
..	٩٦٣.		
			بيانه
..	٤٤٣.		قوشلي
..	٥٢..		مقبول
..	٩٦٣.		
..	و ١٩٤.١		

18 (لمشتري) MS. reads

19 (لمشتري) MS. reads

20 (لمشتري) MS. reads

21 (لمشتري) MS. reads

(تكملة الصفحة الثالثة. مصروفات)

		اللزوم مقبول
		ثمن حوايا وحبال لتادية مصالح الدين
	.. ١١	قوشلي
.. ١.٣	.. ٩٢	مقبول
.. .. ١٣٧٥		ثمن كساوي سبق أن إشتراها عنيد مدني حسين وسلمها للحبيب بانقا موسي مقبول*
		ورشة الترزيه
		ثمن أصناف لزوم تشغيل الكساوي
	١٥٦٨	قوشلي
	.. ١٧١٥/ ١٤٧/	مقبول
	.. ٤..	منصرف للعوض جمعه ثمن جبب صار مقاولته علي تشغيلها قوشلي
	.. ١..	ثمن بروش لجلوس الصناعيه مقبول
	.. ٣٦٩	غداء الصناعيه يومي من غرة محرم لغاية شهره
	.. ٢٥٨٤/	
.. و٣٢٤٩٣		

25 (ثمن كساوي سابق مشتراها عنيد مدني حسين وتسلمة للحبيب بانقا موسي)

MS. reands

(الصفحة الرابعة. مصروفات)

عن المصروفات

.. و٣٢٤٩٣ مرحله

تابع ورشة الترزيه

.. ٢٥٨٤ ✓ مرحله

بيانه

.. ١٩٦٨ قوشلي

.. ٢٥٨٤ ✓ .. ٦١٦ ✓ مقبول

.. ٢٠ عربون لمذكورين في حضور غلال من أمناء المشتروات بمراكيهم وهم الريس عبد الرحيم حسن الإدر ومحمد وشي وأحمد العبيد وعبدالله وكروري قوشلي

.. ٢٠ بيد أحمد محمد لصرفه بالعمله النحاس لتأدية طلبات مصالح الدين قوشلي

عن المنصرف من الأربعة أخماس

الحرم الشريف ثمن طوب وجير وخشب وأصناف

ـد ٢٤ قوشلي

.. ٨٣٣ ـد ٨.٨ مقبول

مصاريف المحل وثمن بروش وحبال بيد بخيت سالم ونقديه بدل ١٨٤ ريال براني بيد علي تقلي

٣١ قوشلي

.. ٢٢٣٨ ٢٢.٧ مقبول

مصاريف حوش سيدنا خليفة الفاروق

ـد ١٥ قوشلي ثمن شمع للقياده

.. ـد ٣١٥ ٣٠٠ المرتب مقبول

مصاريف سيدنا خليفة الكرار

٣٠٠ المرتب مقبول

أجرة مركب في حضور غلال

٤١ قوشلي

٤٥ ٤ مقبول

٣٤٥

بيانه

٤١ قوشلي

.. ٣٤٥ ٣.٤ مقبول

.. ٥٠ المكرم سيدنا هارون محمد مقبول

المكرم السنوسي أحمد

٥٠ المرتب مقبول

أجوة مركب في حضور غلال

١٨ قوشلي

٣٤ ١٦ مقبول

٨٤

(تكملة الصفحة الرابعة. مصروفات)

بيانه			
قوشلي	١٨		
مقبول	٦٦	٨٤	..
ثمن قش لماكول الأربعة أخماس			
قوشلي	٨		
مقبول	٩	١٧	..
مصاريف المحراب الشريف ثمن مجموع القيادة قوشلي		١	..
		٣٨٨٣ د	..
بيانه			
قوشلي		١٣٩	..
مقبول		٣٧٤٤ د	..
			.. ٣٨٨٣ د ..
			.. ٣٩٠٠٠ ج

26 (جمع) MS. reads

(الصفحة الخامسة. مصروفات)

عن المصروفات

.. ٣٩٠٠٠ مرحله

الأهل والراية الزرقه

.. ١٠ قوشلي

.. ٨٥١ .. مقبول ٨٦١ ..

أمناء وملازميه

.. ٢٠ قوشلي

.. ٩٤٦ .. مقبول ٩٦٦ ..

٣٥ .. ثمن خادم إلي النور أصيل قوشلي

٢٠ .. ثمن بغله إلي جمعه شقه قوشلي

ثمن رقيق مرتد لأربابه بعد الثبوت الشرعي

.. ٨٥ قوشلي

.. ١٣ .. مقبول ٩٨ ..

خدماء مصالح الدين

خدماء المحاكم

المحكمه الكبري

١٧ قوشلي

١٢٣ ١٠٦ مقبول

٥٠ محكمة بيت المال مقبول

٢٥ محكمة السوق مقبول

٥٩١ (محكمة) الموردة مقبول

٨٧٩

بيانه

١٧ قوشلي

٨٧٩ .. ٧٧٢ مقبول

٢١٠ .. السايز إدريس وجماعته مقبول

١٥ .. مؤذنين[27] مقبول

الوايورات

٥٧٠ مرتب الخدماء مقبول

أدوات

ـد ٤٠ قوشلي

٢١٧٥ ـد ٢١٣٤ مقبول

٢٧٤٥

بيانه

ـد ٤٠ قوشلي

٢٧٤٥ .. ـد٢٧٠٤ مقبول

١٠ .. الفروع الحربيه مقبول

٢٣٠ .. الطوبجيه متوجهين إلي المتمه مقبول

٩٠ .. خدماء العمارات مقبول

خدماء المطبعة

---

27 (ماذنين) MS. reads

(تكملة الصفحة الخامسة. مصروفات)

٧ قوشلي			
٢٥ مقبول	٣٢	..	
هجانة اليوسته			
١٥٦ قوشلي			
١٢.٤ مقبول	١٣٦.	..	
	٥٤٨١	..	٤.٩٨٠ ر٤ ..

(الصفحة السادسة. مصروفات)

عن المصروفات

.. ٤.٩٨٠ و مرحله

تابع خدماء مصالح الدين

.. ٥٤٨١ ماقبله

خدماء بيت المال

أمناء ومساعدين وكتاب

٨١ قوشلي

١.٤١ ـد ٩٦٠ مقبول

جهاديه

٤ قوشلي

٣١٩ ٣١٥ مقبول

تعمير الاماكن

٢٠ ـد قوشلي

٤٦٤ ل ٤٤٣ و مقبول

١٨٢٤ و

بيانه

١.٦ قوشلي

١٧١٨ و مقبول

١٨٢٤ و يكون

١٢٠ خدماء الشونه مقبول

خدماء الزكاة

١٤٥ بالسوق مقبول

٣١٥ ١٧٠ بالساحل مقبول

٤٠ خدماء الدكاكين مقبول

١٥٥ خدماء مصلحة المراكب مقبول

٢٤٥٤ و

بيانه

١.٦ قوشلي

.. ٢٤٥٤ و ٢٣٤٨ و مقبول

.. ٧٩٣٥ و

بيانه

.. ٣٢٦ ـد قوشلي

.. ٧٦٠٩ و ل مقبول .. ٧٩٣٥ و

.. ٢٠٠ ثمن مكابيل[29] لاذمه بالموردة مقبول

ثمن أدوات لاذمه بمصلحة المراكب جميعه قوشلي

.. ٣ أجرة كسر مركب مقبول

.. ٢ .. ٥ ثمن أصناف لمركب حميده تعلق بيت المال

عن كوالين للابواب وفانوس وجمع تحت اللزوم

.. ٢٢ ـد قوشلي

---

28 (عمارات) MS. reads

29 (مكايل) MS. reads

(تكملة الصفحة السادسة. مصروفات)

..	٢٧	.. ـد ٤	مقبول
..	٤٢٨ ق	أجرة شياله في نقل غلال من المراكب للشونه مقبول	
		ثمن قش لمواشي بيت المال قوشلي	
		.. ١٣	قوشلي
..	٤.٦	.. ٣٩٣	مقبول
..	٨	أجرة جمل في توصيل جلود أبقار بيت المال النافقه بالشرق مقبول	
..	٦٩٤	متشمرين مقبول	
..	٥.٦٨٥ ك و		

(الصفحة السابعة. مصروفات)

تابع المصروفات

.. ٥.٦٨٥ و مرحله

مصاريف ضيوف الحبشه والجبرتة قبل قيامهم

.. ٣٠٥ ثمن قش للأبقار بالشرق مقبول

.. ١٢٣ ضيوف الجبرتة مقبول

.. ٤ ضيوف الحبشه ثمن أدويه لمعالجتهم قوشلي

.. ٤٣٢

بيانه

.. ٤ قوشلي

.. ٤٣٢ .. ٤٢٨ مقبول

ميشرين بالبضائع والغمره والتنباك

.. ٦ قوشلي

.. ٩٦ .. ٩٠ مقبول

رعاة الأبقار بالشرق

.. ٦ قوشلي

.. ٤٩٧ .. ٤٩١ مقبول

رعاة الجمال جماعة جابر والرضا سعد

.. ٨٦ قوشلي

.. ٣٧٠ .. ٢٨٤ مقبول

منقطعين

.. ٢٨ قوشلي

.. ١٦٥ .. ١٣٧ مقبول

.. ٤ العمي والعجزة[30]

مصاريف الديدان الأسود[31]

.. ٣ قوشلي

.. ٤١ .. ٣٨ مقبول

.. ٥٢٢٩٠ و

بيانه

.. ٨٤٤٧ قوشلي

.. ٤٣٨٤٣ و .. ٥٢٢٩٠ و مقبول

عن الباقي بالخزينه لغاية شهر محرم سنة ١٣١٥

٢ ٢٩٩ قوشلي

١٧٥٠ و٢ و ١٤٥٠ مقبول

٥٤٠٤٠ و٢ و

بيانه

٢ ٨٧٤٦ قوشلي

٤٥٢٩٣ و و مقبول

---

30 (العمايه والعواجز) MS. reads

31 (الإوسودة) MS. reads

(تكملة الصفحة السابعة. مصروفات)

٥٤٠٤ و٢ و٢ والباقي وقدره أربعة وخمسون وألف وأربعون ريال وربع وثمن من ريال وقرشين وربع وثمن لاغير زيادة والسلام

محرم سنة ١٣١٥

(خاتم وتوقيع إبراهيم رمضان)

Appendix 2:

The statements of accounts of the *Bayt al-Māl* in 1314/1315 in *maqbūl rīyāl* (income)

	Booty	*Zākah*	Goods-tax	Rents	Contrib.	Confisc.	Exch. coins	Misc.
Shawwāl 1314	0	408	139	0	668	0	0	0
Dhū al-Qa'ida 1314	22585	83	92891	2625	5499	3005	7932	5260
Dhū al-Ḥijja 1314	2182	834	123796	3210	5802	6258	3750	860
Muḥarram 1315	15300	22714	48530	3852	126650	1726	520	1435
Ṣafar 1315	9388	4699	24522	3800	59525	179167	16982	1525
Rabī' I 1315	148243	731	37157	3750	31648	20655	6525	11897
Rabī' II 1315	157438	5475	70548	4566	49624	1164	28125	37950
Jamādā I 1315	121930	1503	85743	2739	322	55866	24175	1692
Jamādā II 1315	45565	23495	130962	4008	470	5687	18200	27015
Rajab 1315	20893	29135	114643	6293	420	16059	22370	68821
TOTAL	543524	89077	728931	31243	280628	168932	128579	156455

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The original of these fiscal records are available in the National records Office, Khartoum. The author of this study used the photostats of these originals, University of Bergen, Department of History, accession nos., Kh.167, 9/2- 175, 9/10, from the last 12 days of *Shawwāl* 1314 to *Rajab* 1315. They fall into nine portfolios:

i. Portfolio one/KH. 167, 9/2: the statements of accounts of the last 12 days of *Shawwāl* 1314, the statements of accounts of *Dhū al-Qaʿida* 1314, and a list of capacity and area measures.

ii. Portfolio two/KH. 168, 9/3: the statements of accounts of *Dhū al-Ḥijja* 1314.

iii. Portfolio three/KH. 169, 9/4: the statements of accounts of *Muḥarram* 1315.

iv. Portfolio four/KH. 170, 9/5: the statements of accounts of *Ṣafar* 1315.

v. Portfolio five/KH. 171, 9/6: the statements of accounts of *Rabīʿ* I 1315.

vi. Portfolio six/KH. 172, 9/7: the statements of accounts of *Rabīʿ* II 1315.

vii. Portfolio seven/KH. 173, 9/8: the statements of accounts of *Jumādā* I 1315.

viii. Portfolio eight/KH. 174, 9/9: the statements of accounts of *Jumādā* II 1315.

ix. Portfolio nine/KH. 175, 9/10: the statements of accounts of *Rajab* 1315.

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